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ABSTRACT

This collection of conference papers examines various policy issues significant to the education of California's ethnic minority students. The document supports the view that educational improvements should not be based upon compensatory programs that assume linguistic and cultural deficiencies among students, but rather should look toward changing the school itself. Educational changes based on the role of the institution should consider the following: (1) local development that promotes variety; (2) no vestige of institutional racism or class bias; (3) elimination of the subordinate status of any group; (4) involvement of community, parents and students; (5) intrinsic reward from school experiences; and (6) elimination of a quick, technically developed education. The document also includes critical discussions of the ineffective promotion of minority academic achievement, low median per capita income of minorities, fear of the majority group about loss of power, school holding power with respect to minority students, and the relationship of the school's ineffective education of minority students to society's failure to achieve the structural integration of all its citizens. (JCD)

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES IMPACTING THE ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENT IN CALIFORNIA

FALL 1980

UD 021 819

NATIONAL ORIGIN DESEGREGATION LAU CENTER

EDUCATIONAL
POLICY ISSUES
IMPACTING THE ETHNIC
MINORITY STUDENT IN
CALIFORNIA

June 14-15, 1979
Conference Proceedings
Airport Marina Hotel
Los Angeles, California

Dr. Alberto M. Ochoa
Director
NOD Lau Center

Mr. Byron Williams
Editor

Fall 1980

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FOREWORD

The Conference on Educational Policy Issues Impacting the Ethnic Minority Student in California took place on June 14-15, 1979, at the Airport Marina Hotel in Los Angeles, California. The Conference was sponsored by:

- --San Diego State University - National Origin Desegregation Assistance (Lau) Center
- --California School Finance Reform Project (now the Social Equity Technical Assistance Center) San Diego State University
- --Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of Schools

This jointly-sponsored Conference was called to present an analysis of data on ethnic minorities in the public schools of California and to create a dialogue within the field of education on policy issues. To this end, position papers and presentations were solicited from advocates of a variety of policies and spokespersons of opposing views were sought to present reactions, thus providing a framework for dialogue. Every effort was made to encourage those opposing-view reactors who participated to submit a written response for inclusion in this publication of the major issues presented and discussed. The Conference sponsors are grateful for the participation of Ms. Anne Frentz, State Administrative Analyst, and Mr. John Mockler, Director of the Independent Analyst Unit of the

Los Angeles Unified School District, who responded to Mr. John Serrano's presentation, "One Parent's View of the Challenges of Achieving Statewide Equity in Public School Finance:" also to Dr. Julian Nava, Board Member of the Los Angeles Unified School District and now Ambassador of the United States to Mexico, and Mr. Jonathan Lewis, Director of the California Tax Reform Association who responded to Dr. John E. Coons presentation "A Case for Choice," which offered the Initiative for Family Choice in Education as an alternative for addressing the needs of ethnic minority students. Reluctantly, we publish the presentations made at the Conference without written responses from those who discussed opposing views. Because of the very controversial reception of the "Voucher Initiative," which may have to be decided by the public at large, the editors have summarized Dr. Nava and Mr. Lewis' taped spoken reactions.

Now, nearly a year since the Conference took place, its sponsors believe the data about public education in California has not radically changed, and the policy issues raised and discussed there merit, more than ever, a resolution that will bring equal educational benefit to all of California's public school students.

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SUMMARY OF THE CONFERENCE
ON
EDUCATIONAL POLICY ISSUES IMPACTING THE ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENT IN CALIFORNIA

Spokespersons for the California School Finance Reform Project provided background information on ethnic groups and public education in California to set the stage for the conference on Education Policy Issues Impacting the Ethnic Minority Student in California. The June 14-15, 1979 conference was co-sponsored by the SDSU National Origin Desegregation Center, SDSU School Finance Reform Project and the Office of the Los Angeles County Superintendent of School as an effort to focus attention and discussion on policy issues significant to the education of California's minority students. According to the School Finance Reform Project findings, concentrations of Hispanic and Asian students in California far exceed nationwide concentrations, thus demanding additional efforts on the part of California educators to meet the special linguistic and academic needs of ethnic minority students. Despite legislation and litigation to reduce school desegregation, California's schools have actually become more segregated. Total numbers of students attending California public schools decreased 3% from 1967-1977. Total number of classroom teachers decreased by 5%, which in turn increased the statewide average pupil-teacher ratio. The number of principals, however, has increased, indicating that per school dollar spent we are paying for more principals while teaching services decline.

The ethnic concentration of credentialed school staff is dramatically unbalanced in favor of Anglos. Figures presented by the school finance project show that the need for bilingual teachers in California public schools is acute. The number of credentialed bilingual teachers would have to nearly quadruple in a period of just two years merely to meet the minimum need. In addition to training existing potential bilingual teachers, districts and Institutes of Higher Education must encourage bilingual persons to train to be bilingual teachers, and must work to eliminate strong disincentives (such as twice the work load at no additional pay for those who assume bilingual teaching assignments) to work in bilingual classrooms.

Dr. Phil Montes, Western Regional Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, criticized the lack of IHE responsiveness in recruitment and training of needed bilingual teachers. He asserted that IHE's have not modified their curriculum nor have they adequately staffed programs that propose to certify bilingual teachers.

Dr. Thomas Carter, of CSU, Sacramento, continued the discussion of the educational needs of California's ethnic minority students. He made the following points:

1) With increasing minority population the future will be vastly different from a past which has been conceived mainly in term of Anglo history. We must deal with reality vs. what conceptions remain in the minds of Anglos--fear of growth of poverty minorities, xenophobia, racism, loss of power.
2) There is little or no evidence to indicate that schools have been effective in teaching reading or in promoting minority student achievement. By the 8th grade, two-thirds of Chicano students will be reading below grade level. In 1976, the Spanish-speaking high school attendance rate was two and one-half times lower than that of Anglos, showing that these students are not "held" by the schools.
3) Supporting the data given on ethnic groups in California public schools, Carter stated that there is increasing racial isolation, especially evident in school curricular decisions and ability grouping within schools and within classrooms.
4) The median per capita income of minorities is about half that of the majority. When groups are excluded economically there are reactions — especially if the major inducement to educational achievement is promised economic reward.
5) The school is the only primary social institution

> directly under the control of the state and community, yet rarely do programs attack structural or institutional mechanisms. Most school programs are based on the assumption that poverty is caused by personal, cultural or linguistic deficiencies, blaming the victim instead of concentrating on changing the school. Compensatory programs encourage low expectations, prescribing a large dose of the same curriculum that has already failed to help the student.

Carter suggested that language alone is not the problem; even fluent English-speaking minority students drop out. However, change can be encouraged if those who initiate change are rewarded. Efforts must be made to institute quality educational programs of enriched schooling based on:

1) local development that promotes variety
2) no vestige of insitutional racism or classism
3) elimination of the subordinate status of any group
4) involvement of community, parents and students
5) realistic, not idealistic, reflection of both the large and small community
6) intrinsic reward from school experiences
7) intrinsic reward for staff
8) elimination of quick, technically developed education

Carter noted that these suggestions fall well within the liberal equality-tradition of the United States. Although societal change is still required, such change demands a coalition of groups and a rejection of the deficit model (i.e., the model that argues that the root of deficiencies exist within the victims).

John Serrano is the parent who brought the Serrano v. Priest case, in which the California Supreme Court required the state to sever the linkage between district property, wealth and per pupil expenditures. At the conference, Mr. Serrano discussed the progress of school finance reform since the Serrano decision. He lamented the slow progress of reform, noting that his daughter beginning kindergarten when the courts ruled in his favor, will graduate from high school without benefiting from the finance equalization decision which bears her last name. Other speakers emphasized that the Serrano decision simply addresses inequality or inequality of opportunity; these will continue to exist in our schools under the present reform measures.

Law professor John E. Coons discussed his initiative for family choice whereby parents would be entitled to a scholarship for each of their school-aged children. Entitlements would be in an amount adequate for a thorough education including funds for special student needs such as transportation, curriculum, bilingual instruction, services for handicapped or other special education needs, or for racial integration. Scholarships would be redeemable only in public and private schools which the state superintendent certified as meeting fundamental standards in such areas as curriculum, hiring, standardized testing and publication of results, and provision of adequate information to the public. This incentive would place the choice of schools in the hands of parents or guardians who: (1) best know the child's needs; (2) care most about the child's success or failure; and (3) are the most personally affected by the child's success or failure over time. It was felt that educational choice, which has long been a luxury of families rich enough to afford private tuitions, should be available to all. Such choice would make school more responsive to the needs of students and would involve parents in educational decisions, according to Dr. Coons. Educational advisors would help parents gain the information needed to make schooling decisions. Schools would have to provide information on staff, student-teacher ratio, financial status, curriculum and student progress in order to be competitive.

Respondents to Coon's initiative expressed the following concerns, alleging that:

1) A free market system has not been effective in other areas. Monopolies with concentrated market control have not been responsive to individual needs. Fears of Kentucky Fried Education or McDonalds' Schools were expressed.

2) Transfers after a school year had begun — especially for migrant children — would present a difficult problem. The issues of money following the child and administrative difficulties were considered.

3) Assurance of open admission to all schools for all students presents difficult administrative and

> transportation problems. Coons proposed that students would apply to schools through the state department of education and children would be admitted to schools on a basis of a lottery. If applications exceed available space, demand would encourage expansion to accomodate additional students.

Other respondents supported the Coon's family choice initiative with the consideration that parental choice would provide options that do not exist within the present system and would encourage diversity, desegregation and improved student performance.

Initial review of evaluation forms completed at the conference indicated that the conference attracted the serious attention of Southern California professional educators concerned with issues of bilingual education.

The report of the Finance Reform Project provided hard and clear data that verifies educator's experience: decline of teachers; shortage of bilingual personnel; increase of national origin minority students, etc. Training and recruitment of bilingual teachers and district support for the efforts of existing bilingual personnel have not been forthcoming. As a result, conditions do not seem to have improved significantly for national origin students in terms of academic progress, desegregation, or program effectiveness.

The conference offered some approaches to promote positive change--Carter's concept of instituting quality educational programs of enriched schooling and Coon's initiative for family choice. These presentations and those of the other speakers stimulated serious discussion of educational policy issues impacting ethnic minority students in California.

In the pages that follow, the major presentations of the conference appear. Because of the controversial nature of the Family Choice Initiative presented by John Coons, the substantial reactions of Dr. Julian Nava and Jonathan Lewis are included.

Dr. Alberto M. Ochoa,
Director
National Origin Desegregation
Lau Center

ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL DATA IMPACTING ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS

Joseph Garcia
Ruben Espinosa
Thomas Foote
Peter Schilla

California School Finance Reform Project
San Diego State University

ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL DATA
IMPACTING ETHNIC MINORITY STUDENTS

Our principal objective is to update, compare and analyze: (1) ethnic and LES/NES concentrations of students, and (2) pupil-to-staff ratios by ethnicity in California's public schools Primarily through the use of tables, we will make comparisons across ethnic groups, student/staff groups, schools, districts, counties, and points in time. We will then discuss those comparisons while striving towards our foremost goal: to deliver, impartially, information helpful to achieving equal educational opportunity for all of California's young people.

Unless otherwise noted below the respective table or figure, the data comes from the Management Systems Information Office of the California State Department of Education. That data was gathered via the R-30 enrollment report compiled by all California public school districts in the Fall of the 1977-78 school year.

Any study which attempts to combine ethnic data from diverse sources must first deal with the inconsistency of ethnic group labeling across those sources. The following investigation is no exception. For example, while the United States Census of 1970 declares that "white" may include "persons of Spanish heritage," the California Racial/Ethnic Survey of 1977-78 identifies people of "Hispanic origin" as an altogether separate and major category. The following table should clarify the relationship between ethnic labels used in our study and those used in the studies from which our study draws:

TABLE 1

ETHNIC GROUP CLASSIFICATION

1970 Census (United States)	California Racial/ Ethnic Survey 1967 and 1973	California Racial/ Ethnic Survey 1977	Labels Used in this Study
Indian	American Indian	American Indian/ Native Alaskan	American Indian/ Native Alaskan
Western Asian, Chinese, Japanese, Other Asian	Chinese, Japanese, Other Asian	Asian or Pacific Islander	
———	———	Filipino (collected separately in 1977)	Asian/Filipino
Negro	Black	Black, not of Hispanic Origin	Black
Persons of Spanish Language and other persons of Spanish Surname	Spanish Surnamed American (includes: persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central American, Cuban, Latin-American or other Spanish origin)	Hispanic	Hispanic
White and other ethnic	All others	White, not of Hispanic origin	Anglo (Other)

The study is also limited in a second and related respect because of the inconsistency of the ethnic classification process across districts. That is, while one district may determine ethnicity by asking the child or child's parents directly, another district may do so indirectly merely on the basis of the child's name or appearance.

The sources of limited and non-English speaking students identified by school districts in the 1977-78 school year are likely to understate the true totals that would follow from the classification criteria established by law. Section 5767.2 of Assembly Bill 1329 states:

> Limited-English speaking pupils are pupils who do not have the clearly developed English skills of comprehension, speaking, reading and writing, necessary to receive instruction, only in English at a level substantially equivalent to pupils whose primary language is English.

On the other hand, the guidelines issued by the State Department of Education for conducting the language census for 1977-78 called for the use of the San Diego Observational Instrument, a test designed to identify the student's dominant language by assessing only skills of comprehension and speaking. By omitting the reading and writing components of the AB 1329 criteria, these census guidelines exclude students deficient in these latter two areas, and consequently result in undercounts. Because the language census data also served as the source from which certain districts completed the LES/NES portion of the R-30 form, the data presented here (drawn from the R-30 base) reflect LES/NES undercounts for certain districts. For example, although the Lau Master Plan published by San Bernardino City Unified[1] shows 2,600 LES/NES students in that district, the State Department's R-30 data shows it to have only 2,147 such students (an undercount of approximately 17 percent).

---

[1] San Bernardino City Unified School District, "Lau Master Plan for Bilingual Education," 1977, p.4.

Finally, our study is limited because our data base is not as timely as we would like it to be. This follows because data collected in the Fall of one year is typically not officially released until the Fall of the succeeding year; e.g., in the Fall of 1978-79, as was the case here.

California's Ethnicity in Perspective

Percentage concentrations of the major ethnic minorities are substantially higher for California than for the nation as a whole. More precisely, the last nationwide census (1970) indicates that while the major minorities made up 17 percent of the national population, they comprised 25 percent of California's population. As can be seen from the starred entries in Table 2, row C, California contains 9.8 percent of the total U.S. population, yet more than 36 percent of the nation's Spanish surnamed. Though nationally, Blacks outnumber the Spanish surnamed 2.43-to-one, in California those tables are turned and Spanish surnamed outnumber Blacks at 2.22-to-one.

TABLE 2

1970 CONCENTRATIONS OF ETHNIC GROUPS COMPARED BETWEEN CALIFORNIA AND THE UNITED STATES

	AMERICAN INDIAN	AMERICAN ASIAN	BLACK	SPANISH SURNAME	ALL OTHERS	TOTAL
a. California						
Number	88,271	399,179	1,397,138	3,101,589	14,971,127	19,957,304
Percent	0.442	2.000	7.001	15.541	75.016	100.000
b. United States						
Number	760,572	1,090,742	22,539,362	9,294,509	169,524,973	203,210,158
Percent	0.374	0.537	11.092	4.574	83.423	100.000
c. California as Percent of U.S.	11.606	36.597*	6.199*	33.370*	8.831	9.821
d. California Percentages Minus U.S. Percentages	+0.068	+1.463	−4.091	+10.967	−8.407	0.000

*Entries which we believe are most worthy of the reader's attention

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, 1970

These 1970 percentages surely understate the case for 1979, for in addition to the heavy daily immigration from Mexico, in 1975 California absorbed Vietnamese refugees in far greater proportions than did other states. Finally, we would expect the 1979 Hispanic concentrations now to be higher because that group's rate of natural increase (births over deaths) is substantially higher than the rates for the other ethnic groups.

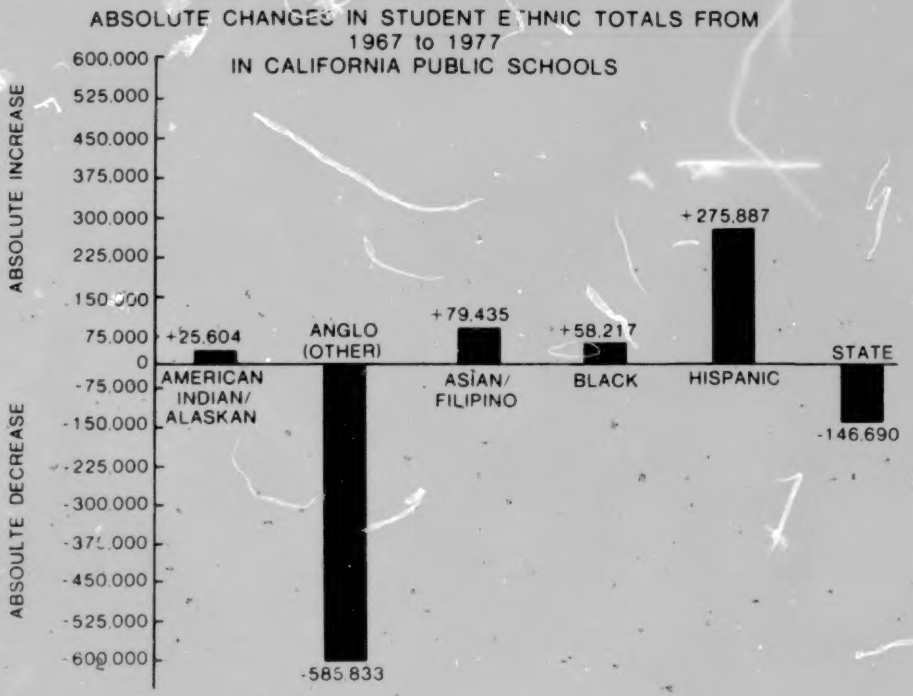
Shifts during the last decade in both the relative and absolute size of student ethnic groups in California have been dramatic, as is shown in Table 3 and in corresponding Figures 1 and 2. Anglo (Other) students declined by 585,833 though all four ethnic minorities increased dramatically. Net result was a decline of 146,690 in the grand total for all ethnic groups. The most dramatic absolute increases occurred for Hispanic students (up by 275,887: see Figure 1) while the largest percentage gains were made by American Indian/Alaskan students (up by 194 percent: see Figure 2) followed by Asian/Filipino pupils (up by 65 percent). Though Black students show a 16 percent increase over the decade, their numbers have actually begun to decline in recent years (e.g., from 432,318 in 1973 to the 430,367 shown in Table 3 for 1977). Taken as a whole, the above shifts mean that Anglo (Other) students dropped from 75 percent of the statewide student population in 1967 to only 64 percent in 1977.

TABLE 3

CALCULATIONS OF ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN STUDENT ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS FROM 1967 TO 1977 IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

		AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN	ANGLO (OTHER)	ASIAN/ FILIPINO	BLACK	HISPANIC	STATE
A	1977 STUDENTS	38,799	2,722,995	201,031	430,367	892,113	4,285,305
B	MINUS 1967 STUDENTS	13,195	3,308,828	121,596	372,150	616,226	4,431,995
C	EQUALS 1967-77 CHANGE	+25,604	−585,833	+79,435	+58,217	+275,887	−146,690
D	(C ÷ B) x 100 = % CHANGE	+194%	−18%	+65%	+16%	+45%	−3%

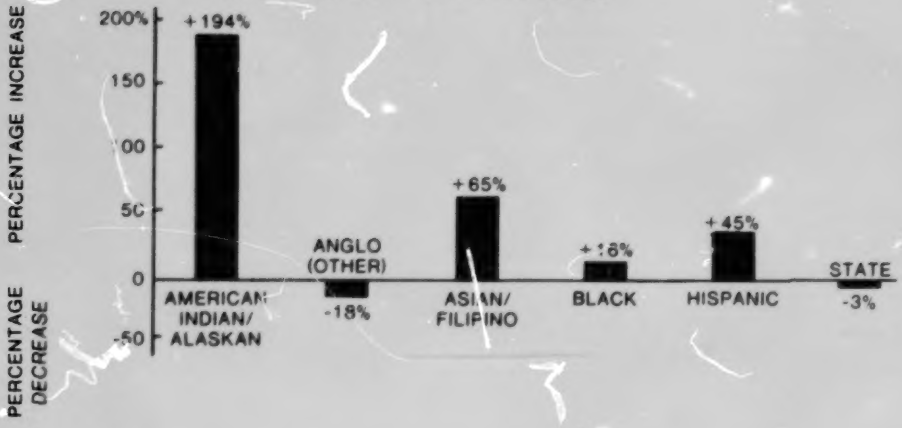
FIGURE 1



ABSOLUTE CHANGES IN STUDENT ETHNIC TOTALS FROM 1967 to 1977 IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

FIGURE 2

PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN STUDENT ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS FROM 1967 TO 1977 IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS



Certain claims, however, suggest that part of the above shifts may not have come from bonafide additions of ethnic minority students but rather from reclassification of existing Anglo students.[2] If this is so, then it would suggest that although integration may be occurring on paper, it may not be occurring in fact.

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[2] Los Angeles Times, "Prairie Street School--Is it Integrated or Not, Nobody Seems to Know," 3 June 1978, Part II, pp. 1, 24, 25. See also San Diego Union, "School Racial Classification Probe South, Evasion by Parents Alleged," 9 January, 1978, Sec. B, pp. 3,4.

County Ethnic Concentrations

Student ethnic concentrations in California's public schools vary radically from county to county, and, as we shall see later, from school to school within a given district. Table 4 presents county concentrations for each of the four major ethnic minorities as well as for LES/NES. With concentrations of 26.5 and 15.7 percent respectively, Alpine and Del Norte counties stand out as having the highest concentrations of American Indians/Native Alaskan counties.

TABLE 4

COUNTY ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS

	American Indian/ Alaskan	Anglo (other)	Asian/ Filipino	Black	Hispanic	Total	LES/NES
1. Alameda	1,789 0.8	114,832 57.7	13,309 6.6	47,011 23,6	21,870 11.0	198,811 100.0	5,839 2.9
2. Alpine	35 26.5	97 73.4	0 0.0	0 0.0	0 0.0	132 100.0	0 [illegible]
3. Amador	86 2.6	3,042 93.4	28 0.8	7 0.2	9 2.8	3,256 100.0	10 0.3
4. Butte	484 [illegible]	20,187 90.5	160 0.7	382 1.7	1,089 4.8	22,302 100.0	199 0.8
5. Calaveras	95 2.6	3,394 93.4	26 0.7	16 0.4	101 2.7	3,632 100.0	3 0.0
6. Colusa	15 0.5	1,894 72.3	124 4.7	35 1.3	551 21.0	2,619 100.0	118 4.5
7. Contra Costa	672 0.5	99,638 77.3	4,987 3.8	14,603 11.3	8,931 6.9	128,831 100.0	1,758 1.3
8. Del Norte	558 15.7	2,873 81.1	12 0.3	11 0.3	87 2.4	3,541 100.0	79 2.2
9. El Dorado	225 1.5	13,757 94.4	151 1.0	46 0.3	392 2.6	14,571 100.0	112 0.7
10. Fresno	897 0.8	59,384 56.0	2,451 2.3	6,723 6.3	36,569 34.4	106,024 100.0	5,792 5.4
11. Glenn	78 1.6	3,984 85.9	40 0.8	11 0.2	521 11.2	4,634 100.0	210 4.5
12. Humboldt	1,790 9.2	16,873 86.7	194 0.9	94 0.4	494 2.5	19,445 100.0	90 0.4
13. Imperial	354 1.5	6,865 29.3	468 2.0	602 2.5	15,064 64.5	23,353 100.0	5,023 21.5
14. Inyo	382 10.8	2,945 83.9	13 0.3	6 0.1	160 4.5	3,506 100.0	15 0.4
15. Kern	909 1.1	54,851 66.5	1,487 1.8	5,398 6.5	19,747 23.9	82,392 100.0	3,130 3.7
16. Kings	126 0.7	9,870 60.4	429 2.6	995 6.0	4,909 30.0	16,329 100.0	968 5.9
17. Lake	153 2.9	4,757 91.7	37 0.7	39 0.7	197 3.8	5,183 100.0	42 0.8
18. Lassen	180 4.3	3,654 88.9	18 0.4	59 1.4	195 4.7	4,106 100.0	2 0.0
19. Los Angeles	6,952 0.5	618,184 47.4	65,912 5.0	224,574 17.2	388,540 29.7	1,304,162 100.0	113,300 8.6
20. Madera	267 2.2	7,093 59.1	105 0.8	514 4.2	4,013 33.4	11,992 100.0	620 5.1
21. Marin	78 0.2	34,676 92.0	1,054 2.7	957 2.5	896 2.3	37,661 100.0	324 0.8
22. Mariposa	70 4.2	1,514 91.1	12 0.7	4 0.2	61 3.6	1,661 100.0	0 0.0
23. Mendocino	769 5.9	11,293 87.8	101 0.7	92 0.7	605 4.7	12,860 100.0	144 1.1
24. Merced	95 0.3	18,469 63.8	531 1.8	1,852 6.4	7,979 27.5	28,926 100.0	1,885 6.5
25. Modoc	83 4.2	1,751 89.7	5 0.2	4 0.2	107 5.4	1,950 100.0	17 0.8
26. Mono	73 5.5	1,192 91.2	1 0.0	6 0.4	35 2.6	1,307 100.0	3 0.2

TABLE 4 (cont.)

	American Indian/ Alaskan	Anglo (other)	Asian/ Filipino	Black	Hispanic	Total	LES/NES
27. Monterey	411 0.8	29,075 56.8	4,183 8.1	3,341 6.5	14,093 27.5	51,103 100.0	3,983 7.7
28. Napa	140 0.8	14,623 87.9	433 2.6	110 0.6	1,318 7.9	16,624 100.0	291 1.7
29. Nevada	56 0.7	6,959 96.9	42 0.5	7 0.0	116 1.6	7,180 100.0	11 0.1
30. Orange	1,501 0.4	300,747 81.1	12,821 3.4	5,048 1.3	50,472 13.6	370,589 100.0	14,090 3.8
31. Placer	320 1.3	21,486 90.5	227 0.9	93 0.3	1,598 6.7	23,724 100.0	218 0.9
32. Plumas	219 6.8	2,838 88.6	16 0.4	38 1.1	91 2.8	3,202 100.0	16 0.4
33. Riverside	1,252 1.0	78,673 66.6	1,357 1.1	8,210 6.9	28,481 24.1	117,973 100.0	7,267 6.1
34. Sacramento	2,574 1.7	104,748 72.5	15,094 5.0	14,785 10.4	144,450 10.2	2,268 100.0	2,268 1.5
35. San Benito	27 0.5	2,089 41.6	88 1.7	18 0.3	2,796 55.7	5,018 100.0	616 12.2
36. San Bernardino	1,368 0.8	116,932 70.2	2,355 1.4	10,609 6.3	35.109 21.1	166.363 100.0	7,294 4.3
37. San Diego	1,449 0.4	225,345 70.7	16,614 5.2	22,485 7.0	52,733 16.5	318,626 100.0	15,182 4.7
38. San Francisco	364 0.5	14,134 22.0	21,941 34.2	18,431 28.7	9,167 14.3	64,037 100.0	5,454 8.5
39. San Joaquin	395 0.5	42,971 64.7	4,006 6.0	4,788 7.2	14,190 21.3	66,350 100.0	3,025 4.5
40. San Luis Obispo	278 1.1	20,414 54,5	397 1.6	320 1.3	2,728 11.3	24,137 100.0	498 2.0
41. San Mateo	468 0.4	66,588 68.5	9,588 9.8	8,876 9.1	11,623 11.9	97,143 100.0	4,582 4.7
42. Santa Barbara	350 0.6	36,618 70.2	1,580 3.0	1,923 3.6	11,625 22.3	52,096 100.0	2,233 4.2
43. Santa Clara	1,925 0.7	183,234 69.9	14,385 5.4	10,983 4.1	51,575 19.6	262,105 100.0	8,762 3.3
44. Santa Cruz	196 0.6	22,551 74.9	799 2.6	280 0.9	6,247 20.7	30,073 100.0	1,607 5.3
45. Shasta	1,086 4.8	20,693 92.4	107 0.4	161 0.7	347 1.5	22,394 100.0	32 0.1
46. Sierra	16 2.3	624 92.8	1 0.1	0 0.0	31 4.6	672 100.0	26 3.8
47. Siskiyou	475 6.4	6,463 87.1	48 0.6	128 1.7	306 4.1	7,420 100.0	56 0.7
48. Solano	790 1.8	28,66 67.0	3,351 7.8	6,482 15.1	3,479 8.1	42,768 100.0	1,070 2.5
49. Sonoma	1,051 2.0	45,950 87.9	887 1.6	803 1.5	3,534 6.7	52,225 100.0	688 1.3
50. Stanislaus	729 1.3	42,170 79.6	719 1.3	728 1.3	8,571 16.1	52,917 100.0	2,397 4.5
51. Sutter	60 0.5	8,173 79.5	769 7.4	87 0.8	1,190 11.5	10,279 100.0	633 6.1
52. Tehama	5 1.1	381 91.3	2 0.4	0 0.0	29 6.9	417 100.0	0 0.0
53. Trinity	148 6.6	2,045 91.3	11 0.4	2 0.0	33 1.4	2,239 100.0	0 0.0
54. Tulare	1,067 2.0	31,621 60.3	865 1.6	902 1.7	17,912 34.2	52,367 100.0	3,503 6.6

TABLE 4 (cont.)

	American Indian/ Alaskan	Anglo (other)	Asian/ Filipino	Black	Hispanic	Total	LES/NES
55. Tuolumne	362 6.4	5,012 88.7	46 0.8	16 0.2	214 3.7	5,650 100.0	20 0.3
56. Ventura	1,042 0.9	79,557 72.6	2,948 2.6	2,473 2.2	23,433 21.4	109,453 100.0	5,808 5.3
57. Yolo	319 1.7	13,567 72.3	619 3.3	291 1.5	3,958 21.1	18,754 100.0	1,351 7.2
58. Yuba	738 6.9	8,082 75.6	336 3.1	485 4.5	1,047 9.7	10,688 100.0	341 3.1

Though the Indian/Alaskan students experienced large percentage gains statewide (Table 3 and Figure 2), these gains occurred largely in Los Angeles and San Diego, two counties whose large student counts for the other ethnicities prevented the Indian/Alaskan increases from affecting Indian/Alaskan concentrati

The highest concentration of Asian/Filipino students is in San Francisco (34.2 percent). In general, the high Asian concentration counties are those in and around the San Francisco Bay Area and the other major port counties, Los Angeles and San Diego.

Black students are concentrated most densely in Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay Area counties. If we take the total number of Black students for Los Angeles County (224,574) and divide it by the total number of Black students statewide (427,264) we see that Los Angeles contains over half (53 percent) of all the state's Black students.

Imperial and San Benito counties have 64.0 and 55.7 percent Hispanic concentrations respectively. Hispanics are most heavily concentrated in the middle-western and southern portions of California.

As is the case for Hispanics, the counties of highest LES/NES concentrations are Imperial (21.4 percent) and San Benito (12.3 percent). Indeed, we found "county's percent LES/NES" highly correlated with "county's percent Hispanic" ($r = 0.91$).

Distributions Of Students By Ethnicity

Just as the preceding section showed student ethnic groups to be distributed far from homogeneously across California counties, this section shows the same trend across schools statewide.

All of this section's findings concern frequency distributions. The second-to-last entry, line 4A, in the first frequency distribution of Table 5 shows that 130 California schools have concentrations of Black students ranging from 90 to 100 percent. Likewise, the second-to-last entry, line 4D of Table 5, indicates that a total of 106,011 Black students attend those schools. Finally, line 4E for the same column, indicates that these 106,011 students represent 24.81 percent of all the state's Black students.

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS STATEWIDE BY ETHNIC AND LES/NES CONCENTRATIONS, 1977-78

PERCENTAGE RANGES OF CONCENTRATION	0.0- 0.0	0.1- 0.9	1.0- 4.9	5.0- 9.9	10.0- 19.9	20.0- 29.9	30.0- 39.9	40.0- 49.9	50.0- 59.9	60.0- 69.9	70.0- 79.9	80.0- 89.9	90.0- 100.0	TOTAL
1. AMERICAN INDIAN/ALASKAN														
A. TOTAL SCHOOLS	2710	2595	1477	221	110	20	15	5	2	2	1	3	1	7162
B. % OF SCHOOLS	37.84	36.23	20.62	3.09	1.54	0.28	0.21	0.07	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.04	0.01	
C. CUMULATIVE %	37.84	74.07	94.69	97.78	99.32	99.60	99.81	99.88	99.91	99.94	99.95	99.99	100.00	
D. TOTAL STUDENTS	0	7,512	18,461	6,348	3,680	895	652	489	29	48	312	71	15	38,512
E. % OF STUDENTS	0.00	19.51	47.94	16.48	9.56	2.32	1.69	1.27	0.08	0.12	0.81	0.18	0.04	
F. CUMULATIVE %	0.00	19.51	67.45	83.93	93.49	95.81	97.50	98.77	98.85	98.97	99.78	99.96	100.00	
[illegible]. ANGLO (OTHER)														
A. TOTAL SCHOOLS	81	126	173	112	273	277	397	419	541	714	1029	1530	1490	7162
B. % OF SCHOOLS	1.13	1.76	2.42	1.56	3.81	3.87	5.54	5.85	7.55	9.97	14.37	21.36	20.80	
C. CUMULATIVE %	1.13	2.89	5.31	6.87	10.68	14.55	20.09	25.94	33.49	43.46	57.83	79.19	100.00	
D. TOTAL STUDENTS	0	456	3,096	5,264	23,986	43,083	88,731	110,903	184,466	[illegible]0,279	461,885	776,615	737,539	2706,303
E. % OF STUDENTS	0.00	0.02	0.11	0.19	0.89	1.59	3.28	4.10	6.82	9.99	17.07	28.70	27.25	
F. CUMULATIVE %	0.00	0.02	0.13	0.32	1.21	2.80	6.08	10.18	17.00	26.99	44.06	72.76	100.00	

TABLE 5
(cont.)

3. ASIAN/FILIPINO														
A. TOTAL SCHOOLS	899	1008	3453	1109	444	136	61	32	10	3	3	2	2	7162
B. % OF SCHOOLS	12.55	14.07	48.21	15.48	6.20	1.90	0.85	0.45	0.14	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03	
C. CUMULATIVE %	12.55	26.62	74.83	90.31	96.51	98.41	99.26	99.71	99.85	99.89	99.93	99.96	100.00	
D. TOTAL STUDENTS	0	3,309	57,207	47,301	42,159	22,056	11,947	8,681	4,551	411	1,729	793	353	200,497
E. % OF STUDENTS	0.00	1.65	28.53	23.59	21.03	11.00	5.96	4.33	2.27	0.20	0.86	0.40	0.18	
F. CUMULATIVE %	0.00	1.65	30.18	53.77	74.80	85.80	91.76	96.09	98.36	98.56	99.42	99.82	100.00	
4. BLACK														
A. TOTAL SCHOOLS	1260	1650	2113	718	597	220	136	112	68	41	50	67	130	7162
B. % OF SCHOOLS	17.59	23.04	29.50	10.03	8.34	3.07	1.90	1.56	0.95	0.57	0.70	0.94	1.82	
C. CUMULATIVE %	17.59	40.63	70.13	[illegible]	88.50	91.57	93.47	95.03	95.98	96.55	97.25	98.19	100.00	
D. TOTAL STUDENTS	0	5,158	28,268	37,347	[illegible]	31,878	27,843	32,575	20,407	16,620	21,677	41,483	[illegible]	427,264
E. % OF STUDENTS	0.00	1.21	6.62	8.67	[illegible]	7.46	6.52	7.62	4.78	3.89	5.07	9.71	24.81	
F. CUMULATIVE %	0.00	1.21	7.83	16.50	30.14	37.60	44.12	51.74	56.52	60.41	65.48	75.19	100.00	
5. HISPANIC														
A. TOTAL SCHOOLS	233	152	1492	1382	1477	802	492	311	287	201	116	105	112	7162
B. % OF SCHOOLS	3.25	2.12	20.83	19.30	20.62	11.20	6.87	4.34	4.01	2.81	1.62	1.47	1.56	
C. CUMULATIVE %	3.25	5.37	26.20	45.50	66.12	77.32	84.19	88.53	92.54	95.35	96.97	98.44	100.00	
D. TOTAL STUDENTS	0	447	26,623	62,587	131,567	117,496	100,952	82,851	87,304	89,535	51,401	58,334	77,283	886,380
E. % OF STUDENTS	0.00	0.05	3.00	7.06	14.84	13.26	11.39	9.35	9.85	10.10	5.80	6.58	8.72	
F. CUMULATIVE %	0.00	0.05	3.05	[illegible]	24.95	38.21	49.60	58.95	68.80	78.90	84.70	91.28	100.00	
6. LES/NES*														

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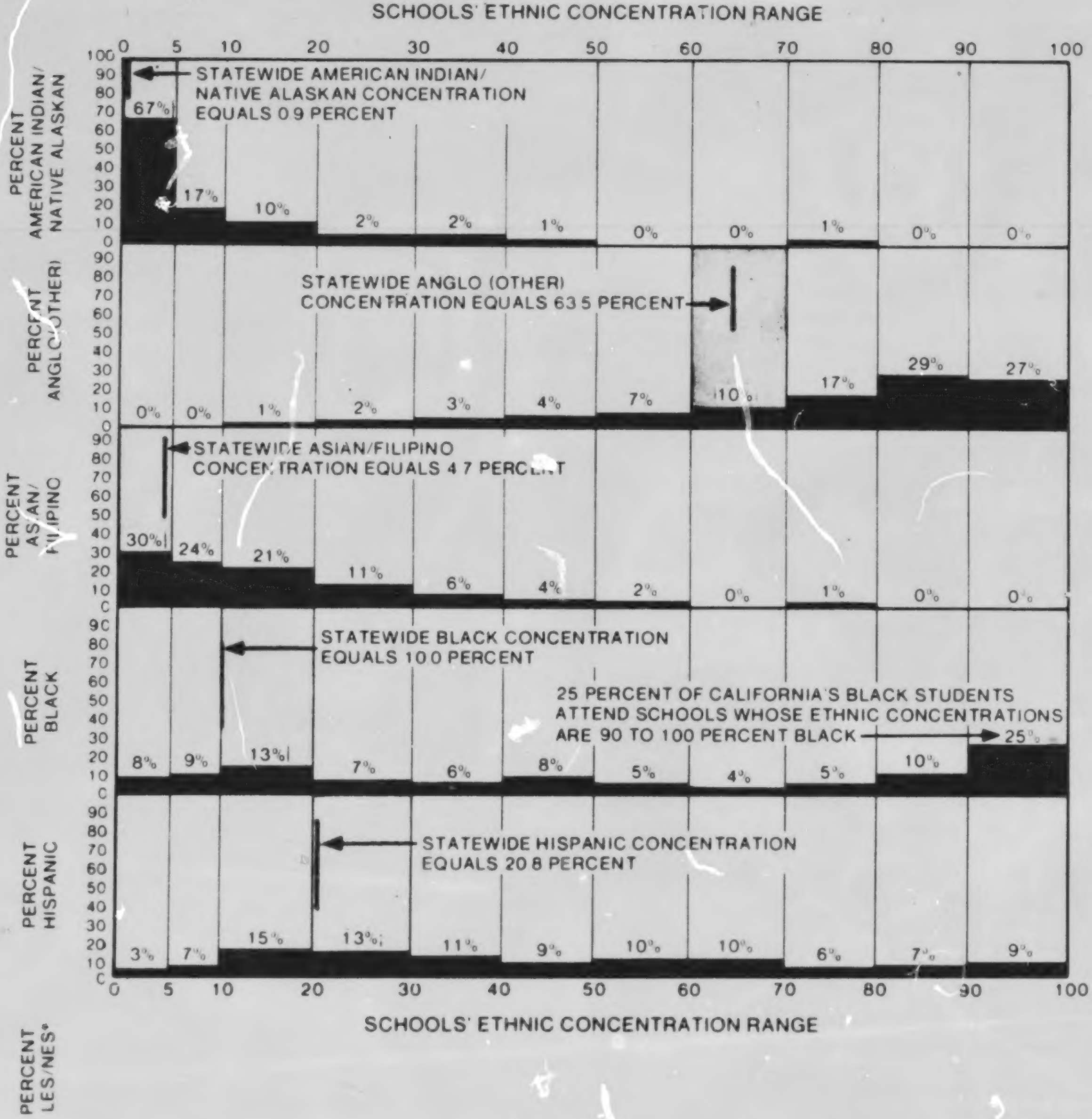
*Here we omit the statewide distribution of schools for the LES/NES category because Los Angeles Unified did not submit their LES/NES data for individual schools.

FIGURE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ATTENDING CALIFORNIA SCHOOLS OF A GIVEN ETHNIC CONCENTRATION



KEY

☐ DISTRIBUTION WHEN ETHNIC GROUP IS DISTRIBUTED PERFECTLY HOMOGENEOUSLY IN PROPORTION TO ITS STATEWIDE CONCENTRATION

■ ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION

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* Here we omit the distribution of schools for the LES/NES category because Los Angeles Unified did not submit their LES/NES data for individual schools

The histogram Figure 3 shows Table 5's "Percent of Students" line (line E) for each ethnic group. Note the light and dark grey shadings in the cells. The light grey completely fills the cell containing the overall average concentration for the ethnic group. For Blacks in Figure 3 this light grey shows how the distribution would look if all schools in the state contained the statewide percentage of Black students (ten percent). The black shade is the actual distribution of students. Thus, the extent to which the darker shade covers the lighter shade permits the reader to see at a glance the extent to which the statewide distribution of a given ethnic group is perfectly homogeneous across schools.

Student ethnic groups are not homogeneously distributed across California schools and districts. Far from it: Table 5 and Figure 3 indicate that:

1. American Indians/Native Alaskans are the most homogeneously distributed of the major ethnic groups, with over two-thirds attending schools whose American Indian/Native Alaskan concentrations approach the statewide concentration;
2. Nearly three-fourths of the state's Anglo (Other) students attend schools whose Anglo (Other) concentrations exceed the statewide concentration;
3. Asians/Filipinos are the next most homogeneously distributed, since approximately half attend schools with concentrations near the statewide concentration;

4. One-fourth of the state's Black students attend schools whose concentrations are 90 to 100 percent Black, while 40 percent attend schools which are at least 70 percent Black. When compared to the statewide Black concentration of 19 percent, the above statistics show Blacks to stand out dramatically as the most isolated of any student ethnic group in California;
5. Although Hispanics make up 20.8 percent of California's student population, 41 percent of them attend schools whose concentrations range from 50 to 100 percent Hispanic.

Distributions Of Three California Districts

Illustrating ethnic group distributions across schools within a given district, Figures 4 through 6 follow essentially the same format as Figure 3. However, here we develop an index of intra-district segregation. We call it the "Average Distance of Segregation (ADS)" because it equals the average difference, measured in percentage points, between the district-wide percentage for a given ethnic group, and the percentage which each student of that ethnic group sees in his or her particular school.

Los Angeles Unified

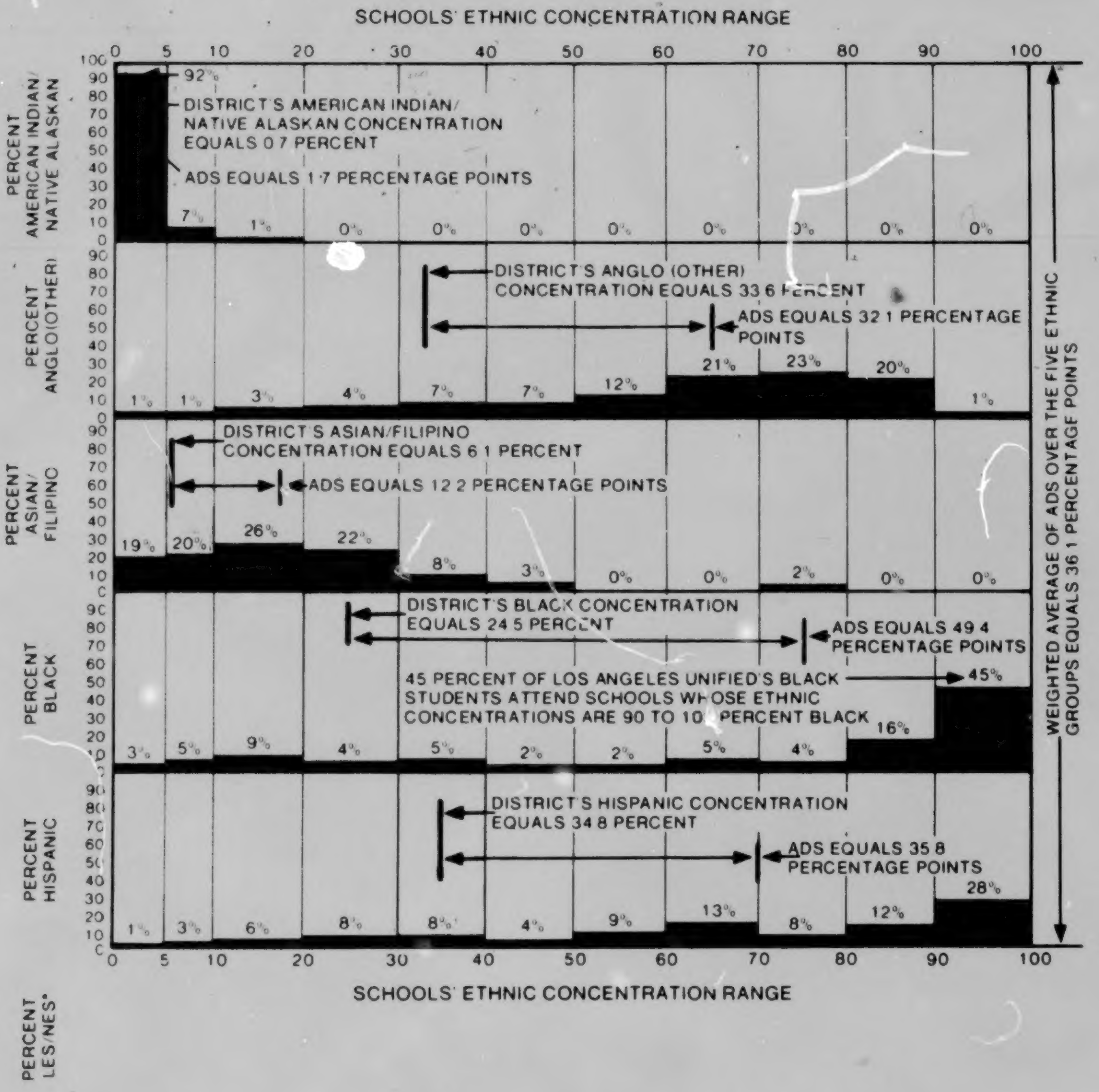
Figure 4 reveals Los Angeles Unified to be extensively segregated. In fact, Blacks in Los Angeles attend schools whose ethnic concentrations are, on average, 49.4 percentage points from the 24.5 percent Black concentration for the district as a whole. Forty-five percent of Los Angeles' Blacks attend schools whose concentrations are over 90 percent Black, while 61 percent attend schools which exceed 80 percent Black.

Hispanics in Los Angeles fare only slightly better. More specifically, Los Angeles' Hispanic students attend schools whose concentrations are, on average, 35.8 percentage points from their respective district-wide concentration of 34.8 percent. Moreover, 40 percent of Los Angeles' Hispanic students attend schools which are over 80 percent Hispanic.

Rather than making a good faith effort to integrate its schools, it appears that Los Angeles has deliberately resisted integration. In fact, according to the recent desegregation status report by the U.S. Comission on Civil Rights (February, 1979, p. 72), Los Angeles was one of several communities nationwide which had "employed a variety of devices to prevent, obstruct, or slow down desegregation."

FIGURE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ATTENDING LOS ANGELES UNIFIED SCHOOLS OF A GIVEN ETHNIC CONCENTRATION



DISTRICT'S AMERICAN INDIAN/ NATIVE ALASKAN CONCENTRATION EQUALS 0 7 PERCENT

ADS EQUALS 1·7 PERCENTAGE POINTS

DISTRICT'S ANGLO (OTHER) CONCENTRATION EQUALS 33 6 PERCENT

ADS EQUALS 32 1 PERCENTAGE POINTS

DISTRICT'S ASIAN/FILIPINO CONCENTRATION EQUALS 6 1 PERCENT

ADS EQUALS 12 2 PERCENTAGE POINTS

DISTRICT'S BLACK CONCENTRATION EQUALS 24 5 PERCENT

ADS EQUALS 49 4 PERCENTAGE POINTS

45 PERCENT OF LOS ANGELES UNIFIED'S BLACK STUDENTS ATTEND SCHOOLS WHOSE ETHNIC CONCENTRATIONS ARE 90 TO 100 PERCENT BLACK

DISTRICT'S HISPANIC CONCENTRATION EQUALS 34 8 PERCENT

ADS EQUALS 35 8 PERCENTAGE POINTS

KEY

☐ DISTRIBUTION WHEN ETHNIC OR LES/NES GROUP IS DISTRIBUTED PERFECTLY HOMOGENEOUSLY IN PROPORTION TO ITS DISTRICT – WIDE CONCENTRATION

■ ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION

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* Here we omit the distribution of schools for the LES/NES category because Los Angeles Unified did not submit their LES/NES data for individual schools

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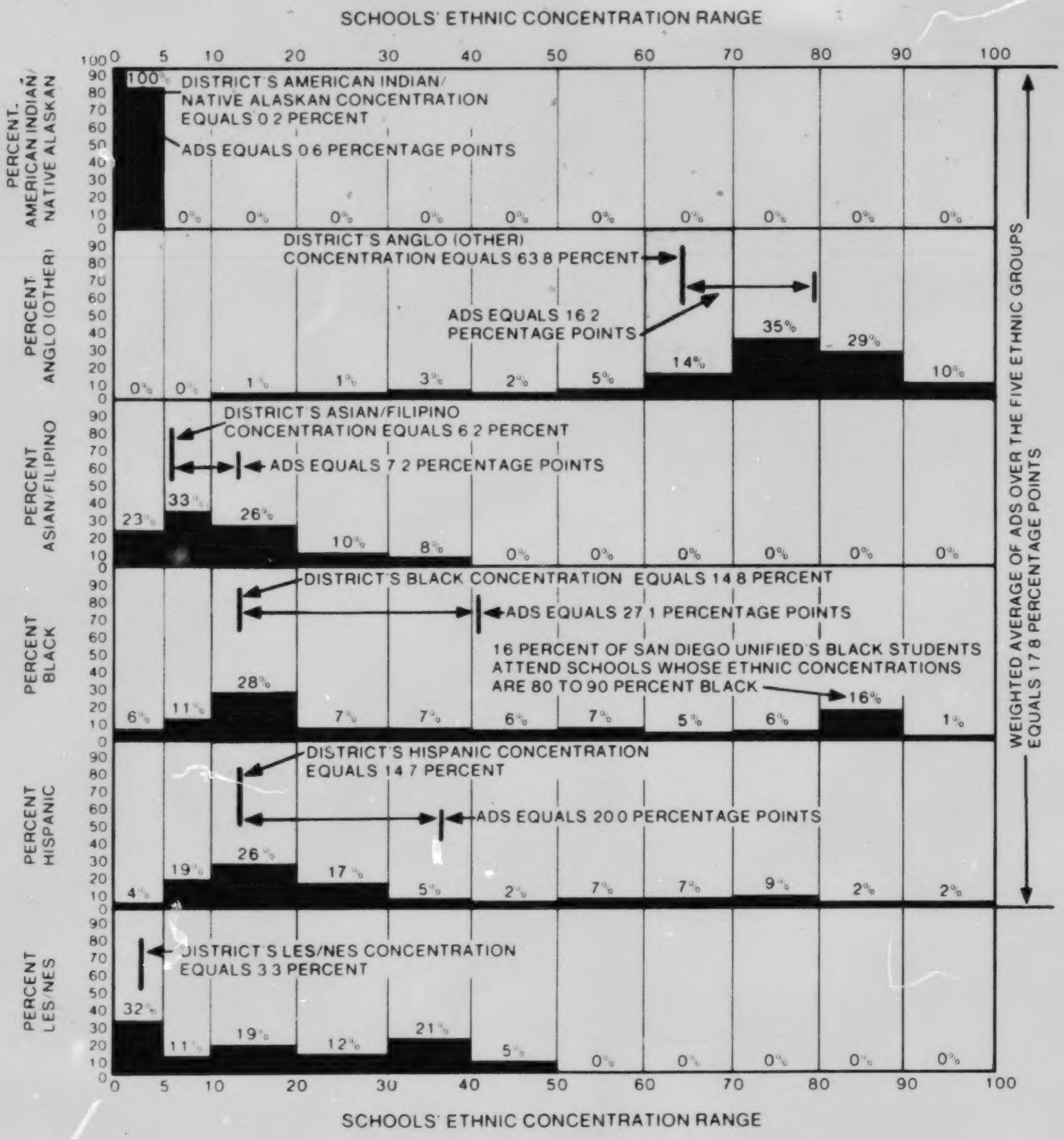
ADS stands for the "Average Distance of Segregation" and represents the difference measured in percentage points between the district-wide percentage for a given ethnic group and the average within-school percentage for that ethnic group For example the ADS of 49 4 percentage points for the Black students of Los Angeles Unified means that Blacks attend schools whose concentrations are (on average) 49 4 percentage points different from the 24 5 percent concentration of Black students for the district as a whole

San Diego Unified

Figure 5 shows San Diego to be segregated with respect to both Black and Hispanic students. Blacks attend schools whose concentrations are, on average, 27.1 percentage points from the district-wide Black concentration. Despite a district-wide Black concentration of only 14.8 percent, 24 percent of San Diego's Black students attend schools which are over 70 percent Black. San Diego's Hispanics attend schools whose concentrations are, on average, 20.0 percentage points from the district-wide Hispanic concentration. Despite a district-wide Hispanic concentration of only 14.7 percent, 27 percent of San Diego's Hispanics attend schools which are over 50 percent Hispanic.

FIGURE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SAN DIEGO UNIFIED SCHOOLS OF A GIVEN ETHNIC CONCENTRATION



KEY

▨ DISTRIBUTION WHEN ETHNIC OR LES/NES GROUP IS DISTRIBUTED PERFECTLY HOMOGENEOUSLY IN PROPORTION TO ITS DISTRICT-WIDE CONCENTRATION

■ ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION

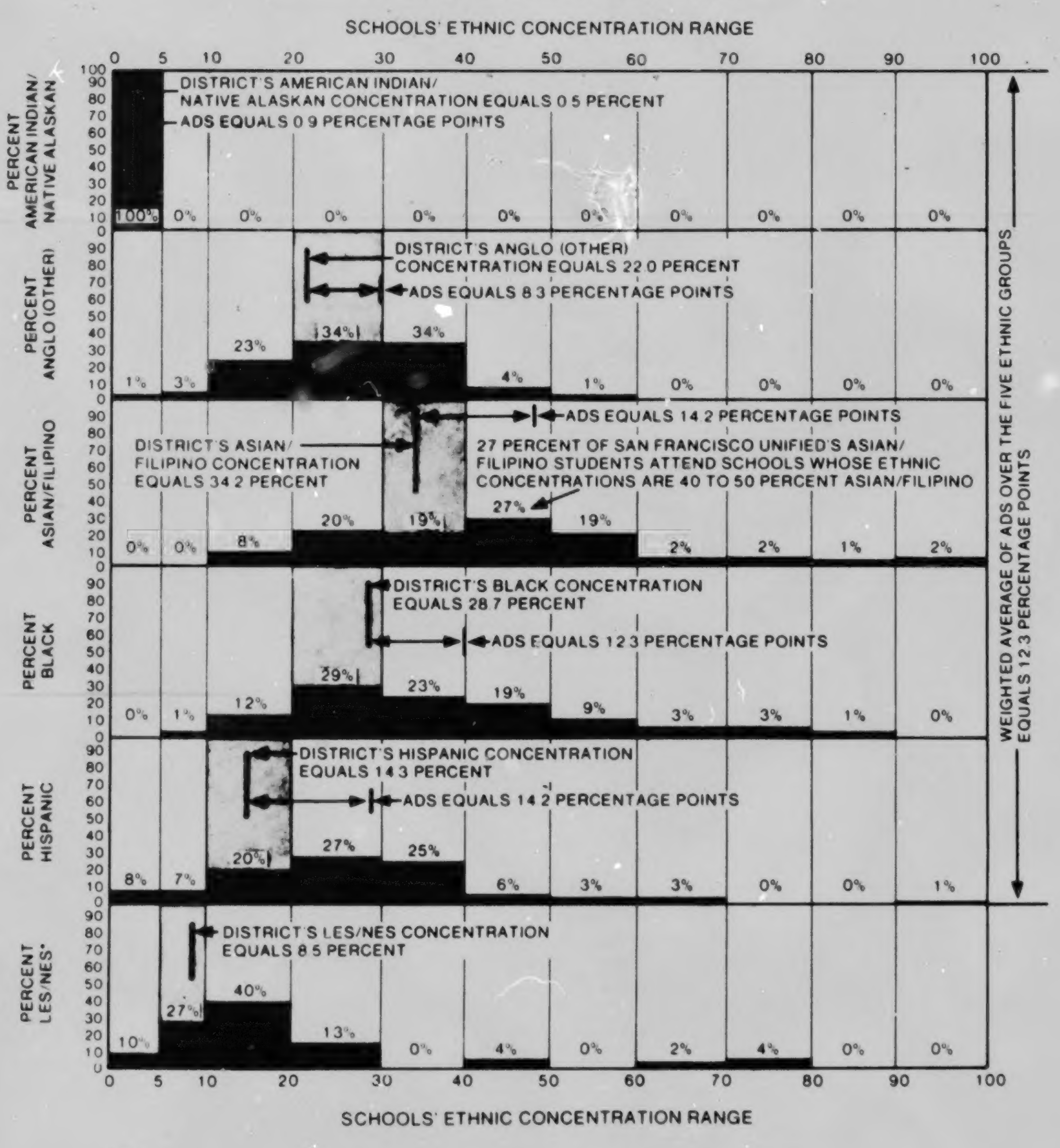
ADS stands for the "Average Distance of Segregation" and represents the difference measured in percentage points between the district-wide percentage for a given ethnic group and the average within-school percentage for that ethnic group. For example, the ADS of 27.1 percentage points for the Black students of San Diego Unified means that Blacks attend schools whose concentrations are, on average, 27.1 percentage points different from the 14.8 percent concentration of Black students for the district as a whole.

San Francisco Unified

San Francisco Unified has the highest percentage of minorities, but the least segregation, of all three districts examined here. Figure 6 reveals distributions which center relatively tightly about the respective district-wide concentration for each ethnic group. In terms of ADS values, however, San Francisco is more highly segregated with respect to Asian/Filipino students than are the other two districts.

FIGURE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SAN FRANCISCO UNIFIED SCHOOLS OF A GIVEN ETHNIC CONCENTRATION



KEY

▨ DISTRIBUTION WHEN ETHNIC OR LES/NES GROUP IS DISTRIBUTED PERFECTLY HOMOGENEOUSLY IN PROPORTION TO ITS DISTRICT-WIDE CONCENTRATION

■ ACTUAL DISTRIBUTION

ADS stands for the "Average Distance of Segregation" and represents the difference measured in percentage points between the district wide percentage for a given ethnic group and the average within school percentage for that ethnic group. For example, the ADS of 14 2 percentage points for the Asian/Filipino students of San Francisco Unified means that Asian/Filipinos attend schools whose concentrations are, on average, 14 2 percentage points different from the 34 2 percent concentration of Asian/Filipino students for the district as a whole

Students and Staff

From 1967 to 1977, the 585,833 decline in Anglo (Other) students was nearly compensated by dramatic gains in all the major minorities. American Indian/Alaskan numbers nearly tripled; Asian/Filipinos jumped by 65 percent, Hispanics by 45 percent, and Blacks by 16 percent. This translates into a drop in the Anglo (Other) share of total students from 75 percent in 1967 to 64 percent in 1977.

Total of Anglo (Other) teachers and principals have also declined in the face of large increases of all minorities in these occupations. American Indian/Alaskan teachers more than quintupled in number while Hispanic teachers nearly doubled. As the entrees in row 3f of Table 6 indicate, percentage increases in ethnic minority principals soared by 161 percent for Asian/Filipino and by 531 percent for American Indian/Alaskan.

TABLE 6

TOTALS, PERCENTAGES, AND RATIOS FOR STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND PRINCIPALS OF CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS COMPARED BETWEEN 1967 AND 1977

	AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN	ANGLO (OTHER)	ASIAN/ FILIPINO	BLACK	HISPANIC	TOTAL
1 **Students**						
a 1967 Totals	13,195	3,308,828	121,596	372,150	616,226	4,432,045
b 1967 Percent of Total	0.30	74.66*	2.74	8.40	13.90	100.00
c 1977 Totals	38,799	2,722,995	201,031	430,367	892,113	4,285,305
d 1977 Percent of Total	0.91	63.54*	4.69	10.04	20.82	100.00
e 1967 to 1977 Change in Totals	+25,604	-585,833	+79,435	+58,217	+275,887	-146,740
f 1967 to 1977 Percentage Changes	+194.04*	-17.71	+65.33	+15.64	+44.77	-3.31*
2 **Classroom Teachers**						
a 1967 Totals	196	163,523	3,807	8,137	4,189	179,852
b 1967 Percent of Total	0.11	90.92	2.12	4.52	2.33	100.00
c 1977 Totals	1,038	146,195	5,604	9,645	8,227	170,709
d 1977 Percent of Total	0.61	85.64	3.28	5.65	4.82	100.00
e 1967 to 1977 Change in Totals	+842	-17,328	+1,797	+1,508	+4,038	-9,143
f 1967 to 1977 Percentage Changes	+429.59*	-10.60	+47.20	+18.53	+96.40*	-5.08*
3 **Principals (Including Assist. Principals)**						
a 1967 Totals	16	9,100	51	170	170	9,507
b 1967 Percent of Total	0.17	95.72	0.54	1.79	1.79	100.00
c 1977 Totals	101	8,982	133	722	533	10,471
d 1977 Percent of Total	0.96	85.78	1.27	6.90	5.09	100.00
e 1967 to 1977 Change in Totals	.85	-118	+82	+552	+363	+964
f 1967 to 1977 Percentage Changes	+531.25*	-1.30	+160.78*	+324.71*	+213.53*	+10.14*
4 **Teachers Plus Principals (Including Assist. Princ.)**						
a 1967 Totals	212	172,623	3,858	8,307	4,359	189,359
b 1967 Percent of Total	0.11	91.16	2.04	4.39	2.30	100.00
c 1977 Totals	1,139	155,177	5,737	10,367	8,760	181,180
d 1977 Percent of Total	0.63	85.65	3.17	5.72	4.83	100.00
e 1967 to 1977 Change in Totals	+927	-17,446	+1,879	+2,060	+4,401	-8,179
f 1967 to 1977 Percentage Changes	+437.26	-10.11	+48.70	+24.80	+100.96	-4.32
5 **Ratios**						
a 1967 Students to Classroom Teachers	67	20	32	46	147*	25*
b 1977 Students to Classroom Teachers	37	19	36	45	108	25*
c 1967 to 1977 Change	-30	-1	+4	-1	-39	0
d 1967 Students to Principals & Assist. Princ.	825*	364	2,384*	2,189*	3,625*	466
e 1977 Students to Principals & Assist. Princ.	384*	303	1,512*	596*	1,674*	409
f 1967 to 1977 Change	-441*	-60	-873*	1,593*	-1,951*	-57
g 1967 Students to Teachers Plus Principals[a]	62	19*	32	45	141*	23
h 1977 Students to Teachers Plus Principals[a]	34	18*	35	42	102*	24[b]
i 1967 to 1977 Change	-28	-1	+4	-3	-39	-1
j 1967 Teachers to Principals & Assist. Princ.	12	18	75	48	25	19*
k 1977 Teachers to Principals & Assist. Princ.	10	16	42	13	15	16*
l 1967 to 1977 Change	-2	-2	-33	-35	-10	-3

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* Entries which we believe are most worthy of the reader's attention

[a] "Principals" includes both principals and assistant principals

[b] Each of the ratios in this line is higher than those calculated in Table 16, line c, because in that table all credentialed staff were included in the denominator.

Totals for all ethnic groups show that although total students and total teachers delined by 3.31 and 5.08 percent respectively, total principals plus assistant principals increased by 10.14 percent. Stated differently, the statewide ratio of students to teachers increased (from 24.64 to 25.10) while the ratio of teachers to principals actually declined (from 18.91 to 16.30). Clearly, this suggests a fundamental trend in California's public schools to reallocate away from teaching services in favor of administrative services; indeed a curious trend in the face of persistent and substantial test score declines over the same decade.

Ratios of minority student to respective minority staff are highest for Hispanic at all three levels (i.e., students to classroom teachers, students to principals and assistant principals, and students to teachers plus principals) for both 1967 and 1977. All minorities except Asian/Filipino, however, improved their ratios over the decade at all three levels. Consistent with large percentage increases in minority principals and assistant principals, the most dramatic improvements occurred for ratios in this occupation (as indicated by the starred entries in Table 6, rows 5d through 5f).

Table 7, along with figure 7, illustrate total pupils, total credentialed staff, and pupil-to-staff ratios statewide by ethnic group for 1977-78. The 4,071 credentialed staff which appear in the LES/NES column represent the total projected staff pool which will be authorized by the California Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing to teach bilingual programs as of September, 1978 (Lo Presti, 1978).

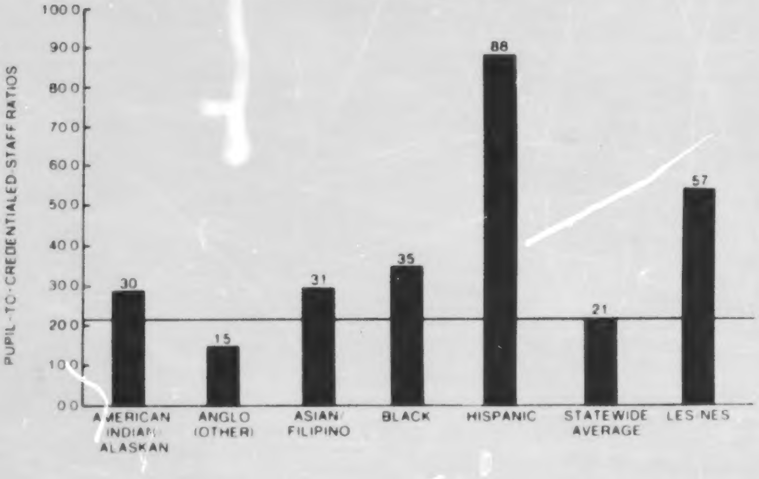
TABLE 7

CALCULATION OF PUPIL-TO-CREDENTIALED-STAFF RATIOS BY ETHNICITY AND LES/NES FOR CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1977-78

	AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN	ANGLO (OTHER)	ASIAN/ FILIPINO	BLACK	HISPANIC	STATEWIDE AVERAGE	LES/NES
a TOTAL PUPILS STATEWIDE	38,799	2,722,995	201,031	430,367	892,113	4,285,305	233,074
b DIVIDED BY TOTAL CREDENTIALED STAFF STATEWIDE	1,283	176,191	6,541	12,361	10,178	206,554	4,071
c EQUALS PUPIL-TO-STAFF RATIO	30.24	15.45	30.73	34.82	87.65	20.75	57.25

FIGURE 7

PUPIL-TO-CREDENTIALED-STAFF RATIOS BY ETHNICITY AND LES/NES IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1977-78



Essentially, Table 7 and Figure 7 show there to be far fewer Anglo (Other) students for each Anglo (Other) staff member than for any of the other ethnic groups. More precisely, although the average pupil-to-credentialed-staff ratio taken statewide across all five ethnic classifications equals 21, all the ethnic minorities exceeds this average while the Anglo (Other) classification falls far beneath it. At 88, Hispanics exceed the average by the largest margin. As indicated graphically in the figure, they are followed by Blacks (at a ratio of 35 to 1), then Asian/Filipinos (at a ratio of 31 to 1), and finally, American Indians (at a ratio of 30 to 1).

The above situation can perhaps be more clearly seen by examining the inverses of the pupil-to-staff ratios for the different ethnic groups. They show that California's public schools employ Anglo (Other) staff in far larger numbers relative to the Anglo (Other) student counts than they employ staff from other ethnic groups relative to the student counts for those groups. For example, while California schools employ 6.66 Anglo (Other) staff members for each 100 Anglo (Other) students, they employ only 1.14 Hispanic staff members for each 100 Hispanics students. The corresponding staff numbers for the other ethnic minorities are, in order of descending severity: (1) 2.86 Black staff to each 100 Black students; (2) 3.23 Asian/Filipinos to each 100 Asian/Filipino students; and (3) 3.33 Indian/Alaskan staff to each 100 Indian/Alaskan students.

Student-Staff Ethnic Parity

Table 8 allows us to compare the percent of the statewide student total represented by students of a given ethnicity versus the percent of the statewide staff total which staff of the ethnicity comprise. For example, while Anglo (Other) students constitute 63.54 percent of California's public school students, Anglo (Other) staff make up 85.30 percent of California's public school staff. The Anglo (Other) category stands out as the only ethnic group whose student-percent of state total is less than its staff counterpart.

TABLE 8

CALCULATIONS OF CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS PERCENT FROM ETHNIC PARITY FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP, 1977-78

			AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN	ANGLO (OTHER)	ASIAN/ FILIPINO	BLACK	HISPANIC	TOTAL
a	PERCENT	CREDENTIALED STAFF	0.62%	85.30%	3.17%	5.98%	4.93%	100.00%
b	MINUS	PERCENT STUDENTS	0.91%	63.54%	4.69%	10.04%	20.82%	100.00%
c	EQUALS	PERCENT FROM PARITY	−0.29%	+21.76%	−1.52%	−4.06%	−15.89%	0.00%

We call the disparity between the two percentages for a given ethnic group the percent from ethnic parity for that ethnic group. As demonstrated in Table 8, we calculate that percent for each of the ethnic groups by simply subtracting the percent of state total students for a given ethnicity from the percent of state total staff for that same ethnicity.

What changes, at what staff levels, does perfect ethnic parity across the five ethnic groups require? Table 9 answers this. Perhaps the best way to understand Table 9, is to understand how we computed each of its entries. For example, let us consider the "-515" in line "a" indicating that American Indians/Native Alaskans are 515 teachers short of parity. We obtained this number by multiplying the state's total number of classroom teachers (170,709: from total column, line 2c, of Table 15) by that fraction of the state's total students which is American Indian/Native Alaskan (0.0091). That multiplication yields the number 1553.45 which, in turn, represents the total American Indian/Native Alaskan teachers required for the proportion of teachers of that ethnicity to equal the proportion of students of that ethnicity. If we then subtract that number from the actual total of Indian/Alaskan teachers (1,038 from line 2c, of Table 6), then round to the nearest whole number, we obtain the -515 disparity presented in Table 9. The other non-total entries in this Table were obtained through the same method.

TABLE 9

BREAKDOWN OF ABOVE PERCENTAGES INTO NUMBERS OF STAFF FROM ETHNIC PARITY IN CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1977-78

		AMERICAN INDIAN/ ALASKAN	ANGLO (OTHER)	ASIAN/ FILIPINO	BLACK	HISPANIC	TOTAL
a	TEACHERS	−515	+37,727	−2,402	−7,494	−27,315	0
b	PRINCIPALS	+ 6	+ 2,329	− 358	− 329	−1,647	0
c	OTHER CREDENTIALED STAFF	− 87	+ 4,891	− 386	− 554	− 3,865	0
d	TOTAL	−596	+44,947	−3,146	−8,377	−32,827	0

Since the concept of ethnic parity merely reveals where staff might be *redistributed* across the ethnic groups, the entries in any given row (i.e., in any given job classification), when summed across the different ethnic groups, necessarily must sum to zero. More precisely, ethnic parity alone requires no *net* addition to, or subtraction from, the existing total staff across all ethnic groups. Table 9 shows that it would, however, require the removal of many Anglo (Other) teachers and principals and the concurrent hiring of ethnic minorities to fill those positions. If ethnic parity were achieved, clearly Hispanics would stand to gain the most new positions (32,327 total positions).

Should ethnic parity, as outlined above, be a major objective of California's schools? To hire and fire immediately and blindly in order to achieve this one objective might well disrupt the achievement of worthwhile competing goals. However, the extensive ethnic disparity detailed above suggests that minority children in California are quite likely to attend schools run by Anglos. Some claim that this in turn gives all children daily "hidden curriculum" about which ethnicity predominates in our society's authority positions. Others argue that it perpetuates the inability of the school to communicate intimately with minority students by intimately identifying with their particular backgrounds and needs. Finally, to the extent to which ethnic concentrations of students reflect ethnic concentrations of employable adults, some claim that it even represents violation of federal Affirmative Action mandates. Hasty firing and hiring is not the answer, but to the extent to which the above claims are true, careful gradual efforts to bring staff concentrations closer to student concentrations appear warranted.

LES/NES Students and Bilingual Teachers

The three-year trend in actual LES/NES totals depicted in Figure 8 seems curious in the face of a swiftly growing population of Hispanic students over that period. Especially curious is the 1977 drop. According to our source (California State Department of Education, Lopez, 1978):

> Data for Fall 1977 is considered an undercount since it was based on language dominance whereas the Spring 1976 count included language dominance and language proficiency as well as teacher judgment.
>
> The 1977 data is further suspect since the Los Angeles Unified School District reported only 90% completion, and the schools that had not completed the census were reportedly those with potentially the greater concentrations of LES/NES students.

Although recent legislation (AB 3470) has generally upgraded the mechanism for classifying students as LES/NES, it guarantees inconsistency of future LES/NES counts across districts by giving each district a choice of four different instruments to identify LES/NES students.

The LES/NES projections for 1982 and 1990 represent the State Department's rough approximations based upon present growth trends in California's general and student populations. The Department (Lopez, 1978) also estimated that roughly 85 percent of these projected LES/NES totals will be Hispanic and nearly 10 percent will be Asian.

Figure 9 shows that the 1978-79 need for credentialed bilingual teachers far exceeds the number of those teachers in 1977-78. In fact, Figure 9 actually understates the disparity since the 4,071 "credentialed" bilingual teachers shown to be "existing" for 1977-78 includes 520 individuals who had completed approved programs but, as of September 1, 1978, had not applied for a credential.

In 1979-80, the need jumps still higher to 17,876 bilingual teachers (4.4 times the number of teachers "existing" in 1977-78). These teachers would serve a projected 328,884 LES/NES students at what the Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing (Lo Presti, 1978) calls the "high level of implementation."

To meet even the Commission's lowest recommended level of implementation for 1979-80, 13,051 teachers will be needed. In other words, the number of credentialed bilingual teachers must nearly quadruple in a period of just two years in order to meet merely the minimum need.

A quadrupling of credentialed bilingual teachers in just two years is especially unlikely in view of the disincentives to obtain their bilingual credential faced by teachers. Bilingual teachers argue that by having to prepare one lesson in English and another in a second language they have nearly twice the work load of the monolingual teacher, and yet they receive no additional compensation. The deterrent is so strong that certain district administrators avoid district bilingual competency exams in order to escape bilingual teaching assignments.

With acute student needs for credentialed bilingual teachers, such disincentives are clearly counter productive.

Conclusions

From analyzing concentrations of students by ethnicity and LES/NES, and concentrations of staff by ethnicity and job classification, we learned the following about ethnic groups and public education in California:

1. The burden to meet special linguistic needs is disproportionately heavy on California relative to the nation as a whole. More specifically, while we found "Percent LES/NES Students" to be highly correlated across California Counties with "Percent Hispanic Students" (r=.91) and "Percent Asian Students," (r=.31) we also found California's concentrations of these ethnicities to far exceed the nationwide concentrations. That is, according to the 1970 U.S. Census, California represents only 10 percent of the U.S. population but contains 33 percent of the nation's Hispanic and 37 percent of its Asians.

   These 1970 percentages surely understate the case for 1979; in addition to the heavy daily immigration from Mexico, California absorbed Vietnamese refugees in 1975 in far greater proportions that did other states. Finally, we would expect the 1979 Hispanic concentrations now to be higher because the Hispanic's rate of natural increase (births over deaths) is substantially higher than the rate for the other ethnic groups.

2. The 1970 census also revealed that California's concentration of Blacks (7 percent) is less than that of the nation as a whole (11 percent). Also, although Blacks outnumber Hispanics (2.43 to one nationwide), Hispanics outnumber Blacks (2.20 to one) in California.
3. California's dramatic (586,000) decline in Anglo (Other) students from 1967 to 1977 was nearly compensated by equally dramatic increases in students of ethnic minorities. Hispanic students alone increased by 276,000, and American Indian/Native Alaskan students nearly tripled, rising from 13,000 to 39,000. In short, the statewide concentration of ethnic minority students jumped from 25 percent in 1967, to 36 percent in 1977. According to the 1978 report of former Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dinally's office, "If the present trend continues, the emerging ethnic groups will constitute more than half the population of California by 1990 and we will become the country's first Third World state." Imperial, Los Angeles, San Benito, and San Francisco Counties already have minorities comprising over half their student population in public schools.

4. Despite the early '60's legislation and litigation to reduce school segregation, California's schools (according to one of the State Department's own segregation measures) have actually become more segregated overall. More specifically, while minority students now comprise 36 percent of California's students, the number of schools which are 50 percent or more minority has nearly doubled, from 987 in 1967 to 1,755 in 1977. Furthermore, over a third of the state's Blacks now attend schools which are at least 80 percent Black as do fully 62 percent of the Black students in Los Angeles Unified.

5. We developed a precise index of intra-district segregation. We call it the "Average Distance of Segregation (ADS)," because it equals the average distance, measured in percentage points, between the district-wide percentage of a child's ethnic group, and the percentage which that child sees in his or her particular school. At the individual ethnic group level, our index reveals that, on average, a Black student in Los Angeles Unified attends a school which is fully 49 percentage points from the Black concentration district-wide. And across all five ethnic groups, our index shows that on average a student in Los Angeles Unified attends a school which is 36 percentage points from the district concentration for his ethnic group.

Though San Francisco Unified has by far the highest concentration of minorities of the three districts we examined (Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco), we claim that it is the least segregated of the three since its ADS is only 12 percentage points. The three districts' relative degrees of segregation can be seen graphically in the histograms of Figures 4-6.

6. From 1967 to 1977, the total number of students attending California public schools decreased by three percent, while the total number of classroom teachers dropped by 5 percent. This in turn slightly increased the statewide average pupil-to-teacher ratio. Yet these declines occurred while the statewide total of principals (including assistant principals) increased by more than 10 percent. In short, the decade has brought us fewer teachers relative to students, and substantially more principals relative to teachers.

7. Relative to the ethnic mix of students statewide, the ethnic concentration of school credentialed staff is dramatically unbalanced in favor of Anglos (Others). For example, while the state employs 67 Anglo (Other) credentialed staff members per thousand Anglo (Other) students, it employs only 11 Hispanic credentialed staff members per thousand Hispanic students.

8. The needs for bonafide bilingual teachers in California's public schools is acute. While the California Commission for Teacher Preparation and Licensing identified only

3,551 credentialed bilingual teachers for 1977-78 they indicated that for just a "low level of implementation" 12,051 such teachers will be needed to serve 328,884 LES/NES students in 1979-80. In other words, the number of credentialed bilingual teachers must nearly quadruple in a period of just two years to merely meet the minimum need for them.

Yet, this increase is highly unlikely because, among other reasons, in most districts bilingual teachers face strong disincentives (e.g., many claim twice the work load at no additional pay) to assume bilingual teaching assignments.

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MINORITY YOUTH
PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR 1987

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MINORITY YOUTH:

PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS FOR 1987

Both the absolute number and the proportion of ethnic minorities are increasing in California. The present proportions will radically change in the next decade as the so-called minorities will approximate a numerical majority.

What does this major demographic change imply for the future What are the social, economic, and educational implications? Our major task is to examine the present in terms of the future and, most importantly, to suggest what the State and its dependent educational institutions must do, when, and if, public officialdom actually recognizes the radically changing nature of its constituency. California must make some hard choices and take action now if it is to avoid an increasingly large minority population in poverty. Radically different "solutions" must be found.

Trends

California is well on its way to becoming the only large industrial state with a numerical majority composed of ethnic minorities. The projections developed in the so-called Dymally Report (Office of the Lt. Governor, 1978), as well as predictions extrapolated from the school enrollment data collected by the Department of Education, reach similar conclusions. However, the importance of these predictions is not in numbers and percentages but in their implications for the human individual and the social order.

In 1977 there were over four and a quarter million (4,258,956) public school children in the State. Of these 36% (1,552,653) were ethnic minorities, 15% (233,074) of these limited or non-English speaking.[1] These figures are accurate as they represent actual counts made by every California school district, and reported to the Department of Education. Private school enrollments are not included. If they were, the Anglo proportion would be somewhat larger--perhaps 68% rather than 64%. A closer look at the minority population groups reveals that in 1977: American Indian/Alaskans were .9%; Asian/Filipinos were 4.7%; Blacks were 10%; and Hispanics were a whopping 20.9%. (Hispanics can be assumed to be about 95% of Mexican origin.) The remaining 63.4% were Anglo.

A comparison of the 1967 and 1977 figures, taken from the State ethnic survey, bears out the continuing trend of increasing percentages of minorities and a shrinking Anglo population. All four minority groups increased significantly while the majority group decreased some 18%. The Hispanic (or Mexican American) group increased percentage-wise less than the Native American or Asians, but its increase in absolute numbers was staggering: from some 600,000 in 1967 to almost 900,000 in 1977. The percentage changes over the decade are equally interesting and confirm the basic trend: during the decade Blacks increased from 8.4% to 10%. Native Americans from .3% to .9%, Asians 2.8% to 4.7%, and Hispanics 13.9% to 20.8% of the total school population (California Department of Education, 1978, Table 1). The minority groups increased absolutely and proportionately while the majority decreased.

Population predictions are notoriously fallible--they are all too influenced by social, economic and demographic variables which are most difficult to foretell. Regardless, to get a feel for the magnitude of change, let us suppose that between 1977 and 1987 the rate of change for each ethnic group remains the same as between 1967 and 1977. This predicts an Anglo population percentage of 50 and a minority percentage of 50 in 1987. The startling 45% rate of growth for Hispanics results in a 1987 population of almost one million, three hundred thousand--most of whom are Chicano.

It is important to recognize that this represents an enormous number of limited English-speaking children. About 25% of all Hispanics and 17% of Asians are LES/NES. The amount of minority growth would be even greater if it were not for differential school holding power among groups. Blacks and Hispanics drop out of school at rates much higher than for the dominant ethnic group. If the "drop-out rate" for all population groups were similar we would find an even higher percentage of minority children in California schools.

The Dymally Report corroborates school projections. It estimated that in the base year of 1977 the State was already 33% minority compared to 23% in 1970. Projections in the Dymally Report indicate that by 1990 minorities will represent 50% of the total State population. This figure is arrived at without counting the estimated 1.2 to 2.5 million undocumented workers living in California with children who are, or will be, in school (Office of the Lt. Governor, 1978, p.4). Moreover, the Hispanic group is eight median years younger than the non-Hispanic (22 vs. 30 - U.S. Census, 1978, p.1), a solid indicator of growth as a larger percentage of Hispanics are in the "child-bearing years." The Mexican American median age is even lower, estimated at some 18.5 years. Couple the fact of more Hispanics in the child-bearing age with the traditional large family and the probable increase in school-age Hispanic children becomes most evident.

The Dymally Report and our estimates generally concur. Regardless of exact numbers it is clear that the minorities are rapidly becoming the numerical majority both in the State and its schools. There is every reason to believe, other things being constant, that this is a well-established trend. Unless major social and economic changes occur there is no reason to question such demographic trends. The exact percentage for each ethnic group is of much less significance than the established patterns of rapid minority population growth concurrent with a declining majority.

No one can predict California's future with certainty--many changes are possible. A new influx of mid-westerners, an increased population movement to the "Sun-belt," a new wave of industrialization or a return to the cities could occur. Only time will tell for sure. For the present, assuming California's socioeconomic base and in-and-out migration pattern remain constant, we can predict with relative certainty that the population composition will be quite different than what it is today and vastly different from America's historical pattern. Minority groups will be close to or a majority of the State and school populations. The largest and fastest growing group will be the Hispanic or Chicano. Blacks are increasing, but at a slower rate.

The future import of these projections will be determined by what we do and not do now and in the near future. Our actions today determine the quality of life for California's multicultural population.

In an ideal world, the population trend in California schools should awaken no more concern than a finding that the

Portuguese population is growing in Rhode Island, or the German in Minnesota, or the Irish in Massachusetts. However, in the real world of California many fear the rapid increase of what they perceive, in the nicest of terms, as the "disadvantaged minorities." Xenophobia, racism, fear of loss of social, economic or political power and a multitude of related beliefs contribute to this fear. While we ourselves totally reject such pernicious fears, we remain frightened.

We certainly are not afraid of the growing numbers of "them;" however, we honestly fear that the dominant group will do little to ameliorate the problems associated with continued and increasing poverty within the minority populations. We are honestly afraid that the State, the society, and its social institutions will continue to apportion minorities less than an equal share of society's "good things." Presently, society is all too successful in producing an overly large poverty cell concentrated within ethnic minorities. The note of urgency which is sounded should be obvious. As the proportion and number of minority children increase, the failure of school and society to educate and to "integrate" them into the mainstream will increase concomitantly. Failure to modify school and society so as to incorporate the culturally and linguistically diverse into the socioeconomic system will become an ever increasing blight. We fear that the effect of our ineffectual social policies and programs will mean increased suffering for minorities and dangerously increased social unrest.

Implications for School and Society

How well has society and its institutions treated minorities up to the present? The answer provides the only evidence we have on which to predict performance and thus the feature role and status of minorities. Using information from the recent past permits us to predict that in 1987 significantly larger numbers of minority youth will be: achieving poorly; dropping out early and entering the job market; and equipped only for the most menial work, for permanent under-employment and for membership in the "generational poor." Naturally, such a prediction can come true if conditions remain essentially as they were in the past and are in the present. The point in stressing the dismal future is to encourage substantive changes in society and especially in its educational institutions.

School Indicators

Academic Achievement

A major function of the school is to teach the knowledge, skills, values and behaviors essential for entry into society. The schools' objective of academic achievement is no more than the goal of having youngsters learn the "basics" of culture necessary to function in society. The "three R's," history, vocational skills, communication and interpersonal skills, and the multitude of other aspects of the curriculum are all drawn from culture. The school's goal is that children will acquire or at least be able to utilize, these skills and values. Acculturation is not demanded in this process; it is not essential that culturally different children internalize the dominant culture to the exclusion of their home values. What is essential is that children acquire the skills necessary to operate to their individual social and economic advantage within the social system. Unfortunately, California schools are not very successful in teaching these skills to Hispanics, Blacks, and Native Americans.

In spite of serious efforts during the last fifteen years, achievement levels among most minorities have not greatly increased. In spite of the billions of dollars spent on compensatory-remedial programs, no hard evidence of substantially increased and sustained academic achievement is presently available. Continuing compensatory-remedial efforts and programs will not improve the situation.

Achievement data by ethnic group is difficult to find. We know, for example, that measured achievement (that is, what one knows that can be elicited from some form of test) for all groups is closest in the beginning years of school. Minority group achievement, especially Chicano and Black, begins to seriously fall below the mean somewhere around the fourth to fifth grade, and continues to plummet until finally it climbs again toward the twelfth grade. (The climb is probably an artifact of the schools' poor holding power--lower achievers flee the school early, thus artificially raising minority achievement.)

A 1969 study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is perhaps the most useful description of minority reading achievement available. Due to the manner in which it was collected, it probably errs on the positive side. There is little or no evidence to encourage the belief that reading achievement for these ethnic groups has improved by 1977. Using this study as a bench mark we predict that by the eighth grade, 64% of Chicanos and 60% of Blacks will be reading below grade level. About two-thirds of the Hispanic and one-half of the Blacks reading below level are two or more years behind. Only 28% of the Anglos in the same grade are reading below grade level; only one-third are seriously behind (Carter, 1979, p.63).

The picture is only a little less dismal for Chicanos and a little more dismal for Blacks by the twelfth grade.

Using twelfth grade achievement levels for projections, we predict that in 1987, even with some slight improvement, 60% of Mexican Americans and 55% of Black high school graduates will be reading below grade level. Some 40%, or in real numbers 43,000 Mexican-American graduates and 50%, or 21,000 Black graduates will be so seriously below grade level as to preclude entering higher education, passing competence tests, or acquiring employment dependent on anything but rudimentary reading skills. Remember that prior to high school graduation about 35% of Chicanos, and 30% of Blacks, compared to only 14% of Anglos, have fled school. In 1987, unless there are unforeseen improvements, we would conservatively predict that about 50% of dropouts and high school graduates combined will be unable to compete successfully in the mainstream socioeconomic system due to being two or more years behind in reading and other academic skills. In real numbers, that means about 100,000 young persons will enter society every year equipped for only the lowest social levels. In reality, these minority youngsters are slated to become socially dependent with all the attendant negative social attributes.

The results of current proficiency testing, other studies of achievement, and nationwide testing tend to corroborate this negative appraisal. Similar results can be found in other areas of academic achievement. What is true of reading seems true of most other skills.

School Holding Power

Another way to measure the pay-off of school is to see if an ethnic group persists in school, or leaves early. A National Center for Educational Statistics Study arrived at a figure for persons not "held" by school. The research was done by determining the total number of fourteen to twenty-five year olds and then counting these who had not completed high school or were not enrolled in any school from February to May, in 1976. The result: 2,611,000 Hispanics were in this age group and 24 percent (618,000) were not in school or had not graduated. Only 10 percent of the "other than Hispanic origin" population was not in school or not a high school graduate (Silverman, 1978, p.6). This is particularly striking because the 10 percent includes the other minorities with the Anglos. The figure for Spanish dominant Hispanics is 40 percent; almost one out of every two ends up being a dropout-pushout. In 1976 the high school non-attendance rate for Mexican Americans was 2.5 times greater than the rate for Anglos.

The Civil Rights Commission found substantial differences in school holding power. Of a hypothetical one hundred school beginners: 67 Blacks, 64 Chicanos, and 86 Anglos will complete high school. Even more discouraging are estimates for college graduation. Of a hypothetical one hundred elementary school beginners: only 4.8 Blacks and 3.3 Mexican Americans will finish college (Carter, 1979, pp. 48 & 55). Some 20 Anglos are estimated to complete four year college programs in California. School holding power *has* increased over the last decade in the K-12 grades. Regardless, college graduation continues to be exceedingly low for Blacks and Chicanos. This means that school is failing in its role as the means for ethnic minority youngsters to enter the higher economic levels of society.

Isolation-Segregation

When the California State Department of Education examined the 1977 ethnic distribution it found that the number of schools with 50 percent or more minority population had doubled between 1967 and 1977 (987 schools vs. 1,755 schools), (California Department of Education, Appendix, Table 5). *The Ethnic Groups and Public Education in California* study employs a newly developed measure called the "Average Distance of Segregation" (Foote, 1978, pp. 19-33), which reveals a still intense segregation in California schools, although some--notably San Francisco and Riverside--are doing much better than others. The measure shows that minority children continue to attend school where minorities are significantly over-represented. Other studies corroborate the trend to more racial segregation and isolation in the nation's and California's schools.

Even this new measure does not reflect the really pernicious, and possibly most damaging form of isolation. Curricular and ability tracking usually function so the last desirable groupings are preponderantly minority. This form of in-school segregation also appears to be on the increase.

We recognize that there are hot debates over whether desegregation really aids the minority child improve academically and over whether forced busing is the best method to achieve desegregation. Regardless, we know that we have a societal commitment to end racism in the U.S. Any trends toward re-segregation and social isolation must be viewed as negative. From Gordon Allport's pioneering work (1954) to the present, research has consistently shown that the more ethnic groups are kept apart, the more racism will be perpetuated. Yet, the trend is to more school separation and ethnic isolation, not less.

Social Indicators

The inability of school to be effective with minority youth has its correlary in the ineffectiveness of society to structurally integrate all its citizens. A very current U.S. Commission on Civil Rights study examines the main social indicators of how well our nation is producing for minorities (1979). These indicators are crucial as it is in them that we see the real implications of the failure of school. What does school and societal failure mean to the child when he or she grows up and faces finding a job, earning an adequate income, and obtaining decent housing?

Unemployment

The Civil Rights study carefully examined four crucial indicators of minority group "integration." On all indicators, ethnic minorities were at a disadvantage with respect to the majority. The indicators demonstrate important elements of inequality in the world of work. If other aspects remain constant, the number of unemployed and under-employed minorities will increase as the proportion of minority citizens in the State increases.

By 1987 the schools will be churning out 25,000 minority job seekers each year who will join the ranks of the unemployed.

The projected yearly increase of the unemployed just out of school is: American Indian/Alaskan 746; Asian/Filipino 1,250; Black 7,084; and for Hispanics 15,719.[2]

Increasing unemployment in the minority sector of the population is a major harbinger of the social ills which will confront California society unless action is taken.

Income and Poverty

Median household per capita income is a useful indicator to determine the distance which separates minority groups from the economic mainstream in our society. The Civil Rights Commission study found that minority populations have a per capita household income about half that of the majority.

Another way to get a sense of income and poverty for ethnic minorities is to look at poverty rates. When the poverty rate (percent of families and unrelated individuals who are below the poverty line) is converted into a ratio of comparison one can state how many are below the poverty line of one minority group compared to the majority. For every Anglo household there are 3.11 Black and 3.12 Hispanic households (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978, p.50).

The Civil Rights Commission concluded that "most minority-headed households have only half the income that is available to majority households...equally disturbing is that no noticeable relative improvement has occurred...over the past 16 years. In fact, the incomes available to Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in 1975 were the same or less relative to the majority males' income as they were in 1970 and in 1960," (U.S. Commission, p. 65). By 1987 there will be increasing numbers of American Indians, Blacks and Hispanics in the State of California who can look forward to a life of poverty and economic deprivation.

Housing

While the social indicators concerning housing are not as negative as the ones for income and poverty, they are consistent in demonstrating that there will be a problem for minority youth growing up in our state. The Civil Rights Commission found that minorities were over-represented in inner city housing, in renting (as opposed to owning), in overcrowding, in lack of essential household elements (toilet, kitchen, heater bathtub), and in paying a higher percentage of income for housing. One of the more alarming trends is that the percentage of expenditure for housing for minorities is increasing, not declining (U.S. Commission, 1978, p.85). If things remain the same, a growing number of our minority school population will be raised in substandard housing, and when they are adults, they will continue in it. This presents one more cause of dissatisfaction and potential trouble for California citizens and institutions.

The correlations between poverty and crime, poverty and prison population, poverty and poor housing, as well as poverty and disease have serious negative implications for the total population. The effects of technological unemployment, Proposition 13 layoffs which can differentially affect minorities (they are often the last hired), inflation, and the general economic slowdown indicate the situation for minorities will deteriorate. The predictable result is massive minority dissatisfaction based on lower relative incomes. If unemployment rises in the anticipated manner, there will be many more minorities below the poverty line. Even worse, there will be a greater distance between the life style of the dominant society and that which can be "bought by the poor." An increasing distance between the middle and poor accentuates the social class inequities inherent in our system. The potential for disruption increases with such extremes. There will be a growing awareness of the distance separating haves and have-nots that will exacerbate the existing situation. Given our past record, we can only predict that poverty levels will not improve, and that in California this means increasing numbers of minority citizens forming the "have-nots."

The Scenario

If we examine all these indicators together, what kind of picture do we see developing by 1987? There will be large increases in the ethnic minority population. The biggest by far will be among the Hispanics. Using the more conservative projection, we predict that Hispanics will represent 58 percent of the minority student population and 28.2 percent of the whole. The number of limited English-speaking students will rapidly increase as well. If the proportion of limited English students to total Hispanic (25 percent) and Asian (17 percent) remain the same, we will have 339,679 LES/NES students in California. This represents an increase of 106,602 and a percentage of change of 45 percent from the 1977 figures. In fact, because of a combination of population increase and improved counting procedures, already in 1979 the actual count of LES/NES children is 328,884: a 41 percent increase in just two years (Foote, 1978, p. viii). Besides this enormous population growth, more children will fail in school. More children will be over age for their grades. More children will leave school too soon, and more children will go to school in a segregated setting.

These effects will be felt mostly by the children themselves. When they grow up, the slow road to exclusion that began in school will continue, with major consequences not just for them but for the society as a whole. Indicators point to increasing social malaise in California unless our growing ethnic minority population is integrated economically into the community. If such integration does not take place we will see increasing unemployment. We will see the minority in dead-end jobs, and in jobs with little prestige. The minorities will be segregated in low-level occupation, just as they are now.

This catalog of ills *appears on the surface to be the burden of the excluded members of our society*. *However, this is a myth*. When any group is excluded, a reaction takes place. We don't know what the reaction will be, but no group accepts such treatment forever. We see glimmers of what it might be in rising crime rates and the historic protests of the hot summers of Watts, Detroit and Newark.

Policy changes to counter the trend described above must be made to change both school and other segments of society in order to avoid a bleak future for all the citizens of California.

Policy Implications

In order to change an effect, one must identify the real cause so the relevant causal factors may be corrected. This presents a dilemma to educators because there is solid evidence that many of the most important causal factors in school failure are found outside the school and therefore outside their direct control (Heath, 1974, p.481).

The most important causes are found in such things as unequal economic status. Equalizing income and power among all the citizens, including the ethnic minorities, would do more in the space of one generation for poor student achievement than all the school reforms now accomplished and still undreamed. The fact of the matter is:

> The major inducement of educational achievement in our society is the promise of future occupational reward. If, however, it is known in advance that these rewards will be largely withheld from certain socioeconomic and racial groups, then it is unlikely that high levels of educational achievement can be sustained in such groups. Thus, academic performance may be devalued because the young of such groups see no relationship between it and the realities of the future. (Cloward & Jones, 1962, p.2)

One of the clearest indicators of the need for social and educational change is that even a college education does not mean as much to minorities as it does to the dominant population. Minority college graduates are still more unemployed, under-employed and low salaried than their Anglo peers (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). Even "success" in school does not guarantee the minority member an equal place in society. Schools cannot do it alone.

As educators we admit that school accounts for the smaller part of the causality of educational failure; nevertheless, it still does account for some. Anyone who knows schools knows that they make an enormous difference for some children. Maya Angelou, who is Black and suffered the entire societal syndrome which is supposed to lead to school failure, evokes this fact in a description of her high school civics teacher.

> My entire stay...(in high school) might have been time lost if it hadn't been for the unique personality of a brilliant teacher. Miss Kirwin was that rare educator who was in love with information.
>
> There were no favorite students. No teacher's pets. If a student pleased her during a particular period, he could not count on special treatment in the next day's class.
>
> She was stimulating instead of intimidating. Where some of the other teachers went out of their way to be nice to me--to be a "liberal" with me--and others ignored me completely, Miss Kirwin never seemed to notice that I was Black and therefore different. (Angelou, 1970, pp. 182-183)

If there is one Miss Kirwin in school there can be many more, and school can represent a significant intervention in the lives of the poor.

During the last fifteen years government at its various levels has intervened in the social system with the expressed objective of eliminating poverty and dependency. While not expressly focusing on minorities, such "war on poverty" programs concentrated their efforts within ethnic communities.

This was the logical result of severe over-representation of poverty within such groups. There is no need to enumerate the multitude of legislative approaches and specific programs since they are so familiar to us. Divining the effect of such programs is an interesting but discouraging effort. Numerous studies have been made. The unfortunate conclusion, albeit oversimplified, is that:

1. Programs have not functioned to eliminate poverty;
2. The socioeconomic system is basically unchanged--those factors contributing to or causing generational poverty continue to do so;
3. A significant number of jobs have been created and occupied by the poor;
4. Watts and the conditions that bred its "riots" still exist; governmental intervention has not eliminated the conditions that cause social upheavel.

It is our belief that the basic reason for this failure is that the assumptions underlying the "War" are fallacious.

Almost all "poverty programs" were based on the erroneous idea of blaming the victim. Those in poverty are perceived and "treated" as if their personal or cultural characteristics were responsible for their low social status. It was a rare program which attacked even the more superficial inadequacies or racist mechanisms of the dominant social system and its institutions.

Perhaps the most positive change during the last twenty-five years is the almost complete elimination of de jure or legal racial discrimination. (However, this may be scant comfort to the minorities who continue to suffer under institutional and de facto discrimination.) Likewise, the most successful "poverty programs," are those which have sponsored legal action to eliminate racist legislative and institutional practices detrimental to the poor and powerless. While not significantly modifying the socio-legal system, such programs have forced the nation into closer alignment with the ideals inherent in the federal constitution.

Policy Implications for the School

Educational institutions bore a major responsibility in the "War" to eliminate the assumed causes of poverty. This was logical and rational as the school is the only primary social institution directly under the control of the community and the State. In spite of early attempts to focus on the broader picture of school racism and inadequacies, almost all school efforts were based on the following false assumptions:

1. Eliminating poverty is largely a matter of helping children born into poverty to rise out of it. Once families escape from poverty, they do not fall back into it. Middle-class children rarely end up poor.
2. The primary reason poor children do not escape from poverty is that they do not acquire basic cognitive skills. They cannot read, write, calculate, or articulate. Lacking these skills, they cannot get or keep a well-paid job.
3. The best mechanism for breaking this vicious circle is educational reform. Since children born into poor homes do not acquire the skills they need from their parents, they must be taught these skills in school. This can be done by making sure that they

> attend the same schools as middle-class children, by giving them extra compensatory programs in school, by giving their parents a voice in running their schools, or by some combination of all three approaches. (Jencks, 1972, p.7)

These points are based on the fallacious assumptions that poverty is: 1) caused by personal, cultural, or linguistic deficiencies; 2) that both society and the school are adequate and little or no change is necessary; and 3) that special school programs directed at the students (the victims) will succeed in *changing them*. We suggest that all programs based on such assumptions will fail. The lack of empirical research demonstrating sustained achievement gain or "attitudinal improvement" of the poor from desegregation, compensatory-remedial programs, or parent involvement in decision-making support our conclusions. Those instances where specific classes or school programs succeed are examples of the Hawthorne or placebo effect, not of specific program components. Elements such as excitement, commitment, and high expectations are most responsible for academic success. It is our considered prediction that continued *efforts based on the assumption that minorities are culturally, linguistically, emotionally or educationally deficient will fail in the future*.

In spite of much effort and huge amounts of money, very little has really happened. Neither the children, the school program nor the institutions have made any great change, yet change is demanded if California is to remain a viable and "healthy" society. Society, and especially its educational institutions, must change. If they do not, the most dire predictions for 1987 will surely become reality. School must become a force in the lives of the very students to whom it presently is a defeating, demoralizing, irrelevant, and meaningless experience. (This group, incidentally, embraces many more students than just those in poverty. Many mainstream youngsters perceive their school experience similarly but "tough it out" because they know that the economic rewards of school persistence are available to them.)

If school is to make a difference with the poor and minorities, and if educational intervention is to be successful, serious study and radical change must take place. The educational establishment must:

1. Recognize that programs based on the deficit model cannot reach their goals. There is nothing culturally, psychologically, or attitudinally deficient about the poor. Minority youngsters are sufficient and complete. Compensatory-remedial programs encourage low expectations, defeatism, and blaming-the-victim mentality which discourages both student academic achievement and substantive institutional change. Contemporary programs based on the deficit model provide students merely larger and more concentrated doses of the normal progam: The very same program that has already failed the students.

   For example, rapidly increasing numbers of LES/NES children require expansion of bilingual programs, but the policy should be to encourage an enriched high quality education approach, rather than foreordain the failure of bilingual education by forcing it to fit the compensatory-remedial model. School failure of Mexican American children is not caused by their failure to speak English or their language deficiency. Nor is it caused by a self-concept deficiency. It is caused primarily because school and society neither offer them quality education nor much hope for social success in their future.

Minority educators, in particular, should actively resist the assumptions of deficiency inherent in compensatory approaches. They should refuse to accept or become involved in programs based on the idea of minority group defect even though such programs are served to them on the silver platter of government support and the offer of leadership roles.

2. Recognize that present governmental efforts are self-defeating. Demanding school acceptance of "prepackaged" specifically defined programs encourages superficial acceptance in order to obtain the dependent funds. Very few schools have truly institutionalized any compensatory--remedial program, including bilingual education. The vast majority will disappear with the loss of outside funding. Program imposition from above encourages staff negativism and only a modicum of commitment. Government should act to

encourage institutions and community development of appropriate programs for their own settings, rather than impose predefined "solutions." Government defined change will be rejected while government encouraged institutional self-analysis and self-development programs _can work_. The more complicated the legislation and the more prescriptive the guidelines the more school districts are able to evade and subvert their implementation. Government should not establish programs that are accepted _only_ because the district receives money and the community gets new jobs. Government must reward those that constructively change rather than those whose merely "tack on" a new program for monetary reasons. Change can be encouraged if those who cause the change receive the economic social reward. Such reward can be the incentive for institutional change within broad guidelines. Politicians who are influenced by so many extraneous power sources must not be the sole determiners of educational change.

3. Implement an enriched high quality schooling appropriate to its own setting. We are not referring here to more of the same old and tried programs. More money will not make compensatory-remedial programs work. There is a need for a great deal of creativity in implementing what is essentially a new paradigm for education. A major contribution toward this end can and must be made by

minority group educators. All too many from the majority group have become "institutionalized" to the point that their creative thinking is restricted to the limits of the school status quo.

Quality education based on a concept of "cultural sufficiency is yet to be fully described, much less implemented. We know more about what it is not than what it is. Regardless, a few guide lines can be suggested. An enriched high quality school would:

a. Provide for the meaningful involvement of professionals, parents, community, and students in the definition and implementation of alternative approaches.

b. Show no vestige of institutional racism/or classism. Mechanisms which subordinate specific ethnic or socioeconomic groups would be eliminated. There would be no rigid ability tracking.

c. Realistically reflect the social, cultural, and linguistic reality of the large and small community. There is no better way to have a multicultural curriculum than to have a multi-ethnic and multi-racial student body and staff.

d. Encourage and sustain high expectations for success by all, as well as sustain a sense of on-going experimentation and self-directed change.

e. Be structured so its students would receive personal intrinsic reward from most school activities Children must find joy, excitement, relevance, feelings of accomplishment, personal acceptance and the reward of learning from their school experience. Staff will not be able to encourage these unless they, too, share similar intrinsic rewards in teaching.

f. Eliminate quick-fix technological "solutions." So-called curriculum reform now mirrors a factory mentality which assumes education is a product which can be described by factory metaphors. At present, when the product is defective one looks for whatever little part of the assembly line is malfunctioning and tries to fix it. What is needed is an examination of the totality of the learning situation, not a "package" to act as a "component" which can be "plugged into" the students. Radical institional change is demanded.

Excellence in schooling is impossible to "program" to fit an assembly line or to predetermine legislatively. The encouraging thing is that excellent learning situations and excellent schools can be created. They can be best fostered by funding plans where the responsibility for institutional change is put into the hands of local educators and community who can then reap the reward for school improvement.

Policy Implications for Society

When the maximum effort has been made by State policy makers and even when schools are radically improved, there still remains the fact that change is necessary within the socieconomic system and within other social institutions.

Implications of state policy are manifest in an intolerable trade-off between inflation and unemployment. Both force the poor to become poorer. Policies needed are those which lead in the direction of equality and fairness in economic, social, and racial matters. Society must change. We generally concur with the approach advocated by John Kenneth Galbraith (1977). His two-prong program involves:

1. Stimulation of employment by increasing demand... Government spending must be increased directly by such measures as health-care spending. Private spending must be increased by reducing taxes. Tax reduction will be more effective to the extent that taxes are reduced most for the poor, because the poor have the highest ratio of consumption spending to income.
2. Stopping of inflation...Galbraith suggests that this can only be done by very strictly enforced price controls. He would put price controls only on the main offenders, the monopoly corporations. If they were controlled, small business and labor unions would comply by force of competition.

These changes are not truly radical. Although they seem difficult and unlikely in the present conservative social climate, they fall within the progressive political tradition of the United States. Such changes would lead to more equal status for ethnic minorities and the poor in California. To be effective for minorities they must be coupled with a third policy--any vestige of institutional racism, whether it be in housing, in the job market, or in school, must end.

Both the school and its parent society must change. The best manner in which to promote quality education is to reject totally the cultural deficit model and the programs based on its faulty assumptions. Substitute for such negativism a high-quality schooling based on a concept of "cultural sufficiency." Discontinue the imposition of predetermined and rigidly detailed programs. Instead, the State should provide incentives to stimulate institutional self-study and self-directed change.

If we are to avoid another social eruption caused by the distance between the "haves and the have nots," social and educational change must occur. What we propose is possible but it will require the combined efforts of many constituencies. It demands the power of a political effort reminiscent of the liberal coalition and civil rights movement of the 60's. However, this new coalition must have greater staying power and very clear long-term objectives. Although this cannot be accomplished by any group alone, it can and must be accomplished.

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Footnotes

[1] The R-30 forms used by the State Department of Education use the following definitions:

1. The following definitions have been established for the ethnic categories on this form.
    a. American Indian or Alaskan native: A person who has origins in any of the original peoples of North America and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition.
    b. Asian or Pacific Islander: A person who has origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands excluding the Philippines (e.g., China, India, Japan, Korea, and Samoa).
    c. Filipino: A person who has origins in any of the original peoples of the Philippines.
    d. Black not of Hispanic origin: A non-Hispanic person who has origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa.
    e. White not of Hispanic origin: A non-Hispanic person who has origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East.

f. Hispanic. A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.

2. The ethnic category which most closely reflects the individual's recognition in the community should be used for purposes of this report. Only one ethnic category per individual may be reported.

[2] Unemployment of Minority Youth in 1987. We will assume that by 1987 the number of minority youth in school in California will be about two million, an increase over 1977's cohort of five hundred thousand. We also assume the unemployment rate will be the same for the minorities as in 1976 (U.S. Commission, p. 30). When that half million increase hits the job market, this is how it will look:

State of California Unemployment Prospects for 1977 and 1987 School Cohorts

	Am. Indian/ Alaskan	Asian/ Filipino	Black	Hispanic	Total
1987 Students	64,403	280,466	488,584	1,168,000	2,001,453
1976 unemployment	13.9%	5.35%	17.4%	16.15%	13.2%
1977 students who will be unemployed	5,393	10,755	74,884	144,076	235,108
1987 students who will be unemployed	8,952	15,005	85,014	188,632	297,603
Increase in unemployment through ethnic increase alone	3,559	4,250	10,130	44,556	62,495
Above yearly	297	354	844	3,713	5,208
New unemployed each year	746	1,250	7,084	15,719	24,799

The preceding table represents cohorts made up of students from the first to the twelfth grade. The impact can best be understood by looking at the two lower lines which show the number of school leavers who will be unemployed over the above number who would be unemployed without the population growth. For example, the 3,713 extra new unemployed each year for the Hispanic group is over and above the 12,006 (144,076 ÷ 12) who would exist without growth. Thus, 12,066 plus 3,713 is the yearly total of 15,719.

ETHNIC GROUPS AND STAFFING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN CALIFORNIA

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Ethnic Groups and Staffing
Of Public Education in California

Education in the United States has been unable adequately to develop programs and staff to meet the educational needs of NOM children. As presently constituted, the educational policies of the States and the Nation are essentially oriented toward a monolingual monocultural educational process. And let me define that a little closer. The American education system, if we are looking for a definition, is Anglo, urban, middle class, English-speaking. If we trace the history of American education, we will find that is the definition. Any child that does not fit that definition is due for devastation within that system. This philosophy is so deeply ingrained that it is difficult to pull away from and develop a program which is different enough to create a transitional program for NOM students. It would be impossible to discuss the maintenance of any language other than English in light of the present policies and laws. We must recognize that the current bilingual approaches in education are all officially targeted toward transitional language outcomes. These policies are consistent with the reality of NOM communities. Because in the everyday lives of the people of these communities both their native languages and English are spoken.

This dual language reality survives in spite of what is being done in the schools. While this approach has over the years -that is, the monolingual approach-worked quite well for Anglo children it has not proved itself with respect to educating those whose language and culture are different. "Hispano" children, for example, have traditionally fallen behind their Anglo counterparts in educational achievement. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, in its five-year study of the education of Mexican American stated:

> "Of the numerous Commission findings, perhaps the clearest indication of the failing of the schools in the Southwest is reflected in the educational outcomes of Mexican-American students. For every ten Mexican-American students who enter the first grade, only six graduate from High School. By contrast, nearly nine out of every ten Anglo students remain in school and receive High School diplomas. The proportion of Chicano students reading six months below grade level is twice as large as the proportion of Anglos."

But this finding has not been limited to Mexican Americans, the Commission continues:

> "Such language minority groups including Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Native Americans and Asian Americans are subject to discrimination and limited opportunity. Not only have many language minority children been subject to segregated education, low teacher expectations, cultural incompatibility with dominant culture oriented curriculum and the educational neglect experienced by minority children in general, many also face a unique and equally severe form of discrimination which results from lack of proficiency in the language of instruction."

A key feature of the Commission's findings and observations is that language becomes a recognized factor in defining equal educational opportunity. It is my position, and of my co-author, Dr. Fernando Hernandez, that we have not achieved that with bilingual-bicultural children. But perhaps the most important milestone was the decision of the Supreme Court of the U.S. in the case of Lau v. Nichols. In that case the Court, citing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act, found that denying NOM children instruction in their native language was discrimination within the meaning of the law. But HEW and the Supreme Court declined to prescribe for school districts the type of assistance programs which would provide language minority children with equal benefits in the attainment of an education, leaving the ultimate decision to the local districts themselves. School districts have been faced with determining what constitutes equality of educational opportunity. The educational process in many areas has been ill equipped to provide NOM children their rights under the Supreme Court mandate. Central to the provision of these rights is the ability of the school system to staff schools in such a way as to meet the needs of students. For example, the staffing patterns in California schools gives some evidence as to this continuing problem. What we find in California schools is a high reliance on teacher aides who are bilingual paired with teachers who are monolingual English speakers. The California School Finance Project surveying the staff of school districts throughout the State found that ethnic minorities were seriously under-represented on teaching staffs. The pupil teacher ratio for Anglos was 15 to 1; for American Indians, 30 to 1; for Asian-Filipino, 31-1; and for Hispanos, a glaring 87 to 1. Even during a time of declining enrollment, the greatest demand for teachers is for those who have bilingual skills. The shortage is so profound that AB 1329, the bilingual education law of California, provided for the granting of emergency credentials to persons who had not yet completed all of the requirements, but who had demonstrated bilingual capabilities. This aspect of the law was aimed at the teacher aide population and provided some funding for training and upgrading of skills. The upshot of all this is that bilingual aides are the school personnel that are keeping the school systems afloat in the sea of NOM children. Most school systems with populations of NOM children would be helpless without their aides. Yet it must be recognized that for the education of the NOM child, the aide is essential. It is to the teacher aide and not to the teacher that the NOM child must turn, in most cases, for his or her education. It is to this area that remedies need to be applied.

The staffing of schools with large numbers of NOM children requires that teachers be competent in the language and have sensitivity to the culture of these children. Bilingual education implies bicultural instruction, which is a reality mostly ignored in the education of these children. If a teacher is expected to represent and to present authentically this double perspective then he or she must have the knowledge and training necessary for dual vision. Less than this is a sham of the Court decision and mis-education for all these minority children. It is the position of these authors, of this document, that to obtain maximum educational opportunity for the NOM child necessitates that education be staffed with people who have the highest level of sensitivity for his value system, culture and language.

The role of the teacher in providing equal educational opportunity is of paramount importance. It is the teacher who conducts the intellectual symphony in which students engage for from five to six hours a day. When curriculm is presented it is by the teacher; if a child is motivated and helped it is by the teacher; and when it is time for evaluation, it is done by the teacher. The child without an effective teacher can have the finest facilities in the world, programs and materials, and not receive a very effective education. These are the reasons it is important that teachers have a strong understanding of what the goals are that they are attempting to achieve. Does she or he have a feeling for what is happening to a child emotionally as he moves toward becoming an English speaking individual? What is the psychological trauma a child must undergo in order to acquire a new language?

In no way do we want to imply that a teacher of the child must be of his or her ethnic or national origin group, but we must assume that the probability of success would be higher if teaching were by persons intimately familiar with the child's world. However, we must also recognize that there is data to support the notion that not all minority teachers are effective with minority students, any more so than all non-minority teachers are ineffective.

The Commission on Civil Rights, in its five year study on Mexican Americans in education, examined three areas of teacher education that have an important bearing on the ability of teacher education institutions to prepare prospective teachers to teach. The first area that the Commission investigated was Mexican American representation on the staffs of various agencies and institutions which control or influence teacher preparation programs. Second, the Commission analyzed the extent to which Mexican Americans have been enrolled as trainees at these institutions. Third, the Commission examined the content of the courses and experiences afforded to the teachers in training at these institutions.

In determining the extent of Mexican American representation on the staffs of institutions which control or influence teacher preparation programs, the Commission has examined three levels of control:

--the State

--the Federal Government, and

--the Teacher Training Institution

The influence of the State is brought to bear through the State Board of Education. The control over teacher training programs comes by establishing standards of preparation for the granting of teaching credentials. In California, the Committee for Teacher Preparation and Licensing, and the State Department share this responsibility. Teacher training institutions, of necessity, conform to these standards to assure that their graduates will be eligible for positions in the public schools of the State.

The Federal government is represented by the U.S. Office of Education. Although the Office of Education has no mandatory authority over teacher preparation programs, it nonetheless influences them through the substantial sums of money it offers for experimentation and development of teacher preparation programs. Teacher education institutions that wish to participate in these programs must be willing to institute the type of training which the U.S. Office of Education is willing to fund.

Teacher education institutions themselves exert the greatest influence over the substance of teacher preparation programs. The staffs of these institutions design the courses and the sequence of courses which are to be taken by the teacher trainees. Although their authority is, in fact, somewhat circumscribed by the necessity to conform to certain minimal State standards on curriculum and training, and by their desire to participate in federally funded programs, they still retain wide discretion in determining the courses to [illegible] taken, the content of the courses, and the way they will be taught.

At all three levels of influence or control over teacher education Mexican Americans are significantly under-represented as staff members. Thus, Spanish surnamed persons are substantially under-represented on the State Board of Education in the Southwest. In 1974, in California, one Spanish surnamed person on the State Board of Education represented 16.5% of students, which was the total Spanish surnamed student enrollment in California. Today, one Board member continues to represent what is now 20.3% of the total student body which is Spanish surnamed: an increase of almost 5 percentage points in five years. A review of college catalogs from a random sample of higher education isntitutions in the Southwest with teacher preparation programs reveals that Chicanos and Chicanas are grossly under-represented in the staffing of these programs. The disproportionate low representation of Mexican Americans on the staffs of teacher education institutions and other agencies that control or influence teacher education has several negative effects. It limits the opportunity for a Mexican-American perspective to be forcefully presented in the development of programs and policies of these particular teacher education institutions. It tends to lower the priorities given to the educational programs encountered by Hispanic children. Finally, it makes it difficult for institutions to relate to the Chicano community or to respond to its needs.

Information strongly suggests that Mexican Americans are substantially underepresented as teacher trainees. Mexican Americans comprise a high percentage of the persons of college age, between 18 and 24 years of age, but they are less--far less--in the percentage of undergraduate enrollment in colleges and universities. In addition, comparative statistics on the number of Chicano teachers in the Southwest suggest that even more strongly, their representation as students in teacher education institutes is disproportionately low. The failure of education institutions to enroll and graduate more Mexican-American teachers has an important bearing on the overall failure of the schools to provide equal educational opportunity. The courses at the university level are still not giving the training needed to assist in the education of the NOM student, and it seems that as we continue to grow in numbers the whole area of NOM has become a specialty that has to be developed at the university level if we are to attain the goal of educating these children. In analyzing the field of bilingual education we are forced to conclude that staffing patterns are indicative of ambivalence and lack of leadership in accomplishing the goals of educating NOM and minority children.

A discussion of the inadequacy of staff to deliver an educational program that meets even minimal requirements almost forces the discussion into a circular path. Nevertheless, we believe it necessary to pursue the discussion: that it is indispensable to an understanding of what confronts educators in this area. Generally, what we find is the result of poor education of minority children; lack of Affirmative Action at all levels of the educational system, including the colleges and universities; and an over-reliance on teacher aides for the delivery of bilingual instruction. With respect to poor education, it appears that had NOM children been effectively educated in the first place, part of the problem could have been quickly resolved. The fact that most of these children have not obtained college or university training makes the recruitment process difficult. Had the school system done its job the problem would be merely one of encouraging minority students to pursue university studies. We are, instead, forced to return to square one. NOM students are not in any large measure prepared for college when they graduate from high school. Colleges and universities have set up special admissions programs as a result of community pressure. Recruitment in these special programs, however, survives under the cloud of an uncertain, fickle future. Tax cutting enthusiasts threaten to erode the claim that these programs have on university budgets. These programs were, for the most part, established during boom times and it remains to be seen if colleges and universities will continue to support them.

Closely connected to this problem is the lack of Affirmative Action at all levels of educational systems. As school districts came under pressure of legal mandates, large-scale shifts of student population and pressures from communities, they turned to universities to provide them with bilingual teacher candidates and in-service programs. There were, for all intents and purposes, no teaching staffs with any basic language competence in any language other than English. With an influx of federal and State funds the school districts went shopping, but there were only a small number of qualified NOM's to help them with the large numbers of NOM students who now had rights. They could not be ignored and their numbers were swelling. Meanwhile, the universities found themselves in a rather peculiar situation. In an era of declining enrollment they were being deluged with requests for teachers, but the districts were not buying what the colleges and universities were selling. They wanted a certain type of teacher--a bilingual teacher. The higher education systems looked around and they found that they were not training any, but promised to respond to the district needs.

Suddenly the colleges and universities discovered that some basic changes were in order if they were to supply these new types of teachers. So they looked around for persons who knew anything about teaching English as a second language and/or bilingual studies. It soon became apparent that they did not have the personnel either. Again, Uncle Sam and State government rode to the rescue, and bilingual personnel were suddenly found and hired in order to write and teach bilingual education.

But what happened in the meantime? What did the districts do? The answer was found in bilingual aides. Here were men and women drawn from the local communities who were bilingual--some of them marginally so--and were given part-time work to assist teachers in teaching NOM students. The aides were not hired for the sake of Anglo children, let there be no mistake about that. In fact, during the 1960's, generally recognized as a boom time in education, at a time of immense crowding and expansion throughout, the educational aides were unknown. Most aides were hired without any training and with only a cursory orientation. For the aide it looked like a good deal: a job in the neighborhood, a few hours each day, and a pay that at first blush looked adequate. It soon became apparent, however, that the aide had been brought into a situation that brought with it responsibilities beyond the scope of a part-time job. Many in effect found themselves in a capacity that can be described as "acting teacher." They had all the responsibility of the teacher in the sense that if they were not there the child would learn little or nothing. They were also asked to communicate with parents and explain curriculum, student progress, school policy and procedures. They were also called upon to handle classroom discipline. When viewed in this light it was quite apparent that to do an adequate job with the children the aide needed to spend time in the classroom beyond what she or he was expected to. Thus, the aide was overworked, underpaid and given little or no benefits and virtually no job security beyond the obvious fact that he or she was needed.

Many school districts, recognizing the central role that aides were beginning to play, began to develop and provide in-service training. The Bilingual Teacher Corps Act, introduced by Assemblyman Pete Chacon as part of his landmark AB 1329, provided the first State funding for the training of bilingual aides and many began college. We are now only first beginning to reap the benefits. One point, however, must be made with respect to the aides; many of them are the products of the inadequate educational experience provided by many of the same school systems they now serve. They are in many respects limited and should not be expected to shoulder the burden they now carry.

What, then, is the answer? First of all, there is a general need for Affirmative Action throughout the system, with a strong offensive approach. Since Bakke, there has developed an apprehension that should not exist in this day and age. Affirmative Action is still law and it should continue to be pursued. Affirmative Action programs have by large escaped the scrutiny of Federal and State government. Enforcement is a must and a necessity. If you recall, the May 25th memorandum--issued by the then-Secretary of Health Education and Welfare--had in its original writing (and I was a member of that Task Force) a statement that said: "Failure to undertake affirmative recruitment and development through inservice programs or teachers, counselors and administrators who possess a sensitivity for, and an understanding of the cultural background; failure to provide bilingual personnel in schools with sufficient Spanish-speaking enrollment, and in other district positions, will imply lack of compliance." When the document went then to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, that position was deleted and we were to meet again; and so the May 25th Memorandum came out as a merely affecting the children of NOM status.

Many of the teachers of minority children today find themselves in soft-money programs, long-term substitute positions, or in the last-hired status subject to being thrown out at the first hint of a budget crunch. Funding for bilingual programs must be long-term, not tenuous. Many of the colleges and univerisites have reacted by also going the soft-money and temporary-staff route of the school districts. Most of the new teaching staff have been hired in schools of education with little increase in other areas which support the bilingual program, such as ethnic studies and foreign languages. Strange as it may seem, most university foreign language departments need to be realigned to the needs of the person who wants to learn a language for practical purposes. Many departments focus primarily on the literature in their respective language areas, and give less emphasis to the actual language usage in the everyday life. Many are also not attuned to the special language needs of the classroom teacher. There is also a need for teacher training to take place in both languages. Courses must not be thinly disguised as bilingual while taught primarily in English. A bilingual program ought to be bilingual in every respect, from the first course in educational psychology to the final course in math methods. Student-teaching must be carried out in a bilingual setting at a bilingual school. Student teachers should not be assigned to be supervised by monolingual teachers.

Education for the NOM child can take two directions, depending on staffing commitments. If we can develop the leadership in the educational ranks and we are capable of shedding our traditional paranoia and apprehensions about children who are different then we are truly at the forefront of a new era in education. In this era we will find the school as a place which excites students, a place students will run to instead of running from. Let us also not lose sight of the fact that education has come under the fiscal crunch because people are not convinced that the money spent on education is worth while. Today, schools would be expanding their funding if people had been convinced that education was out in front of all other bureaucratic institutions as far as serving human needs is concerned. Conversely, education can continue along its present path and expect continued negative public reaction. Should education elect to maintain the status quo we can expect that increasing members of students will regard their education as a waste. This outcome will not only be representative of the minority students experience but of the majority student as well.

As for the future of bilingual education, the picture is not clear. Much depends on how the key factors in the educational arena handle the needs of minority children, and how educational leadership responds to their needs. It is important, nevertheless, to understand that bilingualism will continue to grow throughout the land: primarily because this is the way of life of many people in this nation. The tragedy is that it will be unguided, and the American education system will have not influenced the lives of this fast-growing population, if the status quo continues. It is important to grasp the significance of this phenomenon, for when public education loses its influence, when its popular support becomes eroded, the question that will inevitably be asked is, "What purpose does public education serve"? We need to give power to those educators who are knowledgeable and committed but who have, up to today, been kept at the programmatic level. They have been kept at this level by the elite echelon of policy makers who have no understanding at all of what it takes to educate the NOM student. This implies, of course, that there exists conflict. But teachers who know and care about the child who is different must be willing to wage the battle of education for this child if education is to have meaning. Moreover, while government and business are beginning to recognize the increased need for bilingual personnel, policies and laws are being written to curtail or eliminate bilingual/bicultural education. Such a state of affairs is tragic in view of the current realities this nation is faced with throughout the world. We believe that a better understanding of ourselves, not only of others, would result if our educational system would become more attuned to our new and changing world. In this respect our NOM's can be viewed not as disadvantaged groups who are a drain on our resources but instead as a natural resource that will yield benefits for the nation far beyond the small investment we have made in them.

ONE PARENT'S VIEW OF THE CHALLENGES OF ACHIEVING STATE-WIDE EQUITY IN PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCE

John Serrano

ONE PARENT'S VIEW OF THE CHALLANGES OF ACHIEVING STATE WIDE EQUITY IN PUBLIC SCHOOL FINANCE

In August, 1968, the Western Center on Law and Poverty brought to court the now landmark Serrano vs. Priest case. The suit charged that the existing method of financing public education in the State of California was unconstitutional and discriminatory, since it allowed some school districts to pay a relatively low tax rate and still spend two and three times more money to educate children than other, "low wealth," districts which often paid a much higher tax rate. That system made the quality of a child's education dependent upon an act of fate. If the child was born a "high wealth" district, the child received a better education than a child born in a "low wealth" district.

In April of 1974, the Honorable Bernard Jefferson ruled, in the Superior Court of Los Angeles, California, that the existing method of financing public education in the State of California was unconstitutional and discriminatory. Judge Jefferson ruled that the State of California had six years (until 1980) within which to develop a new system of financing public education which would guarantee that every child in the State of California would receive an equal and quality education. He ordered that the existing inequities in spending per pupil must be narrowed to no more than $100.00 between what is spent to educate a child in one part of the State and what is spent to educate a child in another part of the State.

Naturally, the case was appealed to the California Supreme Court, which in 1971 had already given a favorable opinion. On December 30, 1976, the California Supreme Court upheld the decision of the Superior Court. On further appeal to the United States Supreme Court, the Court ruled that education was not a fundamental right, guaranteed by the 14th Amendment, and refused to hear the case on the grounds that it had no jurisdiction. That action by the United States Supreme Court assured the victory in California.

Today, we stand just 15 months before the beginning of the 1980 school year and have seen only half-hearted attempts on the part of the legislature to meet the mandate of the Court. Unfortunately, the legislature's past record makes it necessary to predict that September, 1980 will come and go, and millions of children in the State of California will still be without the protection now defined under SERRANO.

The purpose of this paper will be to describe the impact of the existing system on children who attend schools in "low wealth" districts; to provide a brief analysis of the legislation and proposed legislation designed to meet the mandate of the Court; and to discuss some solutions to the issue of leveling up districts to ensure a quality education for all children.

Description

The SERRANO decision, as it was filed in 1968, addressed the fact that many California property owners pay considerably higher property tax rates than others in California to support the public school in their community. But instead of raising more money for education in their school districts (on a per students basis), these homeowners actually raise less money.

The inequity occurs because some school districts have substantially more assessed value behind each student than others. Thus, property owners in the so called "wealthy" districts can pay relatively low tax rates and still raise more money per student, than property owners in "low wealth" or "poor" districts.

For example, the Baldwin Park School District (a district in the San Gabriel Valley of Los Angeles) is an area of very moderate housing. The community is predominately Mexican American, with a substantial percentage of Black families and a small percentage of Anglo-American families. There is no industry in the area; industry is located in the neighboring community of City of Industry (more about communities like City of Industry later). Residents of Baldwin Park tend to be lower income and working class families.

The residents of Baldwin Park, because of the tremendous value they place on education for their children, tax themselves at a very high rate. Yet, in spite of their efforts, their children receive more than $1,200 per student less than children in Beverly Hills, a school district just an hour's drive away and in the same County. Yet, residents of Beverly Hills, because of their extremely valuable property, pay a relatively low tax rate and yet ensure that their students receive an outstanding educational experience.

If one travels East on the Pomona Freeway (I-60) in Los Angeles, one finds a phenomenon that is repeated throughout California. Along one stretch, the freeway (on its southern side) passes through four communities, each with its own school district. The freeway cuts through East Los Angeles, a predominately low income Mexican American Community, then goes through Montebello, a community with very expensive property which thirty years ago it would not sell to Mexican Americans. Going further, one passes through Pico Rivera: again, a more modest, and Mexican American, community. Finally, one reaches the fourth community and school district of Whittier, another middle class community of essentially non-minority population.

The two higher wealth--and, curiously enough, non-minority--communities pay a lower property tax rate and yet spend considerably more to educate their children than do their neighbors. The poorer, minority communities pay a higher tax rate, yet have less money for schooling.

In the landmark ruling of December 30, 1976, the California Supreme Court agreed with the action brought on behalf of the plaintiffs by the Western Center on Law and Poverty (Los Angeles), and the Public Advocates (San Francisco) that the above-described situation violates the equal protection provisions of the State Constitution. The Court also upheld the 1974 ruling by the lower court that spending differences between districts must be reduced to less than $100 per student by September, 1980.

Illustration

A 1977 report on the financial data of 1,046 local school districts, issued by the State of California, showed that during the 1976-77 school year the "rich" school districts in California got richer and the "poor" districts weren't even keeping pace. The State Department of Education reported that the inequities in tax rates and in spending per pupil have not been lessened--in some cases they have grown worse. California's "richest" districts have been spending six times as much per pupil as the state's "poorer" districts. And, prior to Proposition 13, the rich districts were raising the money with the lowest local property tax-rates in California.

In 1976-77, in one district, Mt. Pleasant (San Jose), the combined school tax rate of $8.16 per $100 of assessed property value raised $1,232 per pupil, per year. On the other hand, in the oil rich McKittrick School District (Kern County), homeowners paid just $1.54 per $100 of assessed value but raised $4,228 per pupil, per year. In the tiny Chicago Park School District of California's Nevada County, pupils received only $728 per year, per child.

Proposition 13 removed the property tax as a source of revenue for local communities. Proposition 13 and the actions of the State Legislature were a boon to both the poor and the wealthy homeowners of California. Proposition 13 reduced the property tax by two-thirds, making it possible for some lower income and elderly home owners to miss being taxed out of their homes. However, the bail-out measure of the Legislature returned almost all the money that all school districts lost. Consequently, the wealthier homeowner, who often has more "tax breaks" than his poorer counterpart, was assured of preserving his substantial budget for education with no local tax effort.

In San Merino (one of the wealthiest communities in California), the State's bail-out measure brought the level of spending back to 80% of its pre-Proposition 13 spending. The school district asked San Merino residents to contribute their Proposition 13 savings and many of the residents did so. This option was hardly available to the poorer persons who had already taxed themselves beyond their ability.

One often hears that "dollars don't make scholars", or that, "money is not a critical factor in how children learn". Yet the wealthy do not subscribe to such rhetoric— not for their own children. San Merino asked its residents to contribute back their tax windfall and the richer school districts (who support the concept and philosophy of SERRANO) emphatically state that a loss of money would seriously jeopardize the quality of education offered in the "wealthier" districts.

The intent of the plaintiffs, of the Law Centers, of John McDermott who argued the case, and even Judge Bernard Jefferson was definitely not to destroy the quality of education available to students in wealthy schools by taking their money and giving it to the poor. Contrary to the cries of some legislators that the SERRANO decision is a "Robin Hood" measure to take from the rich and to give to the poor, the decision embodies a very simple and basic demand for the rights of all children.

During the past 11 years, I sometimes thought that even though the decision bears my name, as "just a parent" I wouldn't be able to understand all of the complexities and ramifications of such a complex issue as the financing of public education. But quite to the contrary, as a parent and a member of a minority group that places a very high value on education (contrary to what our "friends" the anthropologists and the sociologists would have us believe) the decision and its implementation is very simple. It really only has three major issues: One, that every child in the State of California has a constitutionally protected right to a quality and equal education; two, that the State must devise a new system of financing public education to ensure that districts that don't have resources can provide a level of education that is, in Judge Jefferson's words, "based on the wealth of the State as a whole;" and three, that the first two will cost money.

For a parent, and for a student in a "poor" district the issues are very simple to understand. However, for a vested-interest and self-serving legislator they become unbelievably complex and impossible to implement.

Just last year, the legislature had the audacity to pass, and the governor had the audacity to sign, a bill known as AB65.

This bill is another one of the shams being perpetrated on the citizens of the State of California by the legislature. In 1976, the Court said that by 1980 the State must design a system by which every child in the State receives an equal and quality education, where the disparity in spending can be no more than $100 dollars. Yet our legislators have the unmitigated gall to pass a bill that states that by 1982, 80% of the children in the State of California will come under the protection of what is now known as SERRANO. That means that one million children will not have their education protected. It also means that the differences in spending between Beverly Hills and Baldwin Park will still be $1,200 per year.

Assemblyman Leroy Green (D - Sacramento), the author of AB65, coined a new phrase, "substantial compliance" in discussing AB65. "Substantial compliance" is like saying a woman is only a "little pregnant". A woman is pregnant or she is not. The legislature complies or it does not.

Mr. Green has also called AB65 a compromise bill. Three years ago, I was at a hearing in Sacramento where Mr. Green, in trying to make a point stated: "I would like to quote my friend Senator Rhoda, 'Politics is the art of compromise'." This one statement makes it easier to see why our legislators find the implementation of SERRANO so difficult. We have in Sacramento, people of COMPROMISE and not of CONSCIENCE.

I will try, again, to simplify the issue for our legislature. It's easy; we need money to level up. Get the money.

Some might feel that this is an over simplification. It's not. Proposition 13 was totally unnecessary. The State could have lowered the property tax and still have had more money: enough for education, enough for health services and enough for all mandated services.

The resources for revenue are there. What's lacking is a legislature that will make a commitment to the needs of all its citizens. A legislature that has the necessary intestinal fortitude to devise a tax system so that all in California pay their fair share. A system that does not destroy the capitalistic system, yet does not protect only a fortunate few, is easily within the reach of this State and Nation.

Potential tax resources from those who pay no taxes and from those who pay almost no taxes do exist. The legislature could devise a system which allows people to make a profit, but that also ensures that all pay their fair share. If it did so, it would have the money necessary to meet the needs of all citizens.

Analysis

In March of 1968, literally thousands of Chicano students walked out of East Los Angeles Schools, protesting the same issues that caused me to move out of the community in which I was born and raised: the inadequacy of the education available to them.

Today, there is only one way that most youngsters can make it in our society: that is, by putting themselves through an educational system that will allow them to compete in the job market.

Today, the State of California is experiencing a new phenomenon, declining enrollment. Schools throughout the State are being closed because of lack of students. Yet the number of minority students continues to grow and minority students continue to attend overcrowded schools and overcrowded classrooms. But, as was mentioned earlier, the "richer" districts continue to get richer and the "poor" districts can't even maintain their previous pace. Our legislators respond with band-aid remedies and tell us that we don't have the money.

Perhaps because I am "just a parent" and not a legislator, I can see the forest and not just the trees. I can see that the legislators refuse to see the fact that by revamping our tax structure, we could easily find the resources we need.

Let me give you a few examples for revenue that could be avaialable to our State. Again, let me emphasize that these are just a few examples.

The former governor of California, Ronald Reagan was a wealthy man before he became governor. He was wealthy while he was governor. Yet, two years in a row, Ronald Reagan paid no State Income Taxes. There is something seriously wrong with a system where a person of means pays no taxes.

Insurance companies, in the State of California, who's "home" office is outside of the State pay no property tax on the property they own in California. This is known as the "Home Rule Exemption". So out-of-state insurance companies put up multistoried buildings, take one floor for their offices and rent-out the rest of the building, at a profit. Yet, they pay no property tax.

In paying income tax, insurance companies get another break. Unlike many citizens of the State, the rate for insurance companies' state income tax is not based on their earnings of the previous year. Rather, the rate they are taxed is based on the profits they made during a ten year period. But they (insurance companies) get to pick the ten years upon which their tax rate will be based.

Property taxes are based on the assessed valuation of the property by the County Assessor. In 1976, property taxes in Orange County increased by 25% over the previous year. Former President Richard Nixon's property taxes in San Clemente only increased by 14%

My wife and I purchased our home in 1974. From 1974 to 1977 our property taxes doubled. Yet, in 1978, I found out that the taxes on the Forum, in Inglewood, decreased each year from 1970 to 1978. The Forum is owned by one individual, who also owns the Lakers Basketball Team, and the Kings Hockey Team, and it is used for rock concerts, circus and rodeos. It was built for profit, but pays decreasing taxes.

About three years ago, the State of California gave the County of Los Angeles $300,000 to mount a campaign to get people to drink less alcohol. The cost of alcoholism casualties to tax payers is staggering. That same year the liquor industry spent, in the County of Los Angeles alone, $3,000,000 in advertising to get people to drink more. Also in that same year, a bill was introduced in the legislature to add a 6% tax to all alcoholic beverages. The money raised from this tax would be used to defray the cost of treating the casualties of alcohol. The bill never got out of committee. An idustry that spends $3,000,000 in advertising, in Los Angeles County alone, can kill a bill that would label alcohol a poison and place the burden for its casualties on those who choose to buy alcohol.

Earlier I mentioned the City of Industry, the idustrial community that is a neighbor to the low wealth Baldwin Park School District. Thousands of these cities in California house industry and factories. Since there are no schools in these cities, the owners of the business properties pay no local taxes to support public education: meanwhile their neighbor cities, who must educate workers' children, are going bankrupt.

The former Assessor for the County of Los Angeles resigned while his office was being investigated for illegal assessment practices, such as the case of the Forum just mentioned. Shortly after resigning, he died of a heart attack. His wife claimed the heart attack was due to the pressure of the investigation and collected a huge workmen's compensation award.

The former district attorney, in the County of Los Angeles, died of an alcohol overdose. His wife claimed the pressure of the job made him abuse alcohol and she, also, received a massive workmen's compensation award.

A Los Angeles County Supervisor retired, then sued the County because he claimed another Supervisor "picked on him" and "made fun of him." He claimed that this resulted in a chronic upset stomach and was awarded thousands of dollars, in addition to a handsome pension.

These men, in addition to earning above average salaries, chose to run for elected office. Unlike so many minority members, who were failed by the school system and who are chained to meager jobs to support their families, these men chose public life and yet steal tax dollars when they leave office.

The preceding are merely a few examples of inequities in our system which if corrected could provide needed revenue to finance public education and other services without raising a single tax. Everyone should be entitled to make a profit, but under our system some of that profit should be paid back in the form of taxes, in a fair manner.

The resources to ensure that the needs of all the citizens of California are met do exist. If we could elect enough legislators who took their oaths seriously, rather than being self-serving and responding only to vested interests, we would not end up with compromise legislation. The State can no longer continue to waste its most precious resource, its young people. By simply revamping the tax structure so that all people pay a fair share of taxes, hysterical and short sighted remedies like Proposition 13 would be unnecessary. A system that provides tax loopholes for some at the expense of some children's chance to prepare themselves to compete in society is immoral.

Projection

Projection is defined as "a reflection on the present, in order to predict future conditions--what the future may hold". If one reflects on the present and remembers past experience, one must project that September, 1980, will come and go and nothing will really change. Past efforts on the part of the legislature to meet the mandate of the California Supreme Court have been half-hearted and half-baked. Assemblyman Green was even quoted in the newspaper as saying that perhaps, if the Court saw that the legislature went part of the way, it might let the State "off the hook."

When the suit was filed in 1968, my daughter, Amber had not yet started kindergarden. In 1974, the year of our first court victory, she was finishing the 8th grade. In 1980, the year mandated by the court as the date when all children must come under the protection of SERRANO, Amber will be in her senior year of high school. Since Amber is thinking of a career teaching children who are handicapped, she will probably go on to college and earn a Masters degree in special education. During the time we will have been involved in this law suit, I project that Amber will complete her entire educational experience and will have seen no real benefit from the decision which bears her last name.

However, because I still believe in this system, and because I believe "ours is a nation of laws and not of men;" I fervently hope that even though my children did not benefit from the law suit, my grandchildren will.

A CASE FOR CHOICE

John E. Coons
Stephen D. Sugarman

A CASE FOR CHOICE

Every argument for reform of policy assumes an audience that to some degree shares the advocate's social objectives. It is idle to argue for the eighteen-year-old vote with those preferring a return to monarchy. In arguing for choice in education we run the same risk. Our aims are two. First, education should serve the best interest of the individual child. Second, it should support community in its many aspects; here we will emphasize two of primary importance— public consensus and racial integration. The argument is addressed to readers with similar objectives.

Policy arguments also need two or more alternatives that can be compared for their relative capacity to produce the desired ends. It would be pointless to label the present educational regime good or bad in the absolute. We will, therefore, describe the existing system and, for comparison, a hypothetical system which would increase the authority of families. The descriptions for the moment will be very general; alternative systems of choice will be detailed at the end of the chapter.

The Learning Connection: Two Models

Power over the education of the individual child is currently divided among six forces. These are government institutions; teachers and other school personnel; families of public school pupils; private school families; lobbying professional groups; and a miscellany composed of taxpayers, nonparents, and others we can call the "rest of us." The same individual may appear in a number of these roles.

Government (principally state government), within the limits of state and federal constitutions, creates and empowers school districts. It ordains tax structures that support them and the general rules by which their operations are governed. Districts set the bulk of curriculum policy, establish enrollment rules that determine which school the child attends, and hire the teachers who are assigned there. These processes of decision are abstract and rational. Government does not know individual children.

School personnel, especially teachers, have discretion within broad curricular constraints to affect the child's experience, since the children who are assigned to them are virtually their captive audience for several hours each day. The relation is sometimes fairly personalized, though a class of twenty-five is too large for close involvement of the teacher with more than a few students.

Public school families typically have little influence on their child's formal education. Sophisticated parents with time and interest are a partial exception, but their options are usually limited to whatever variety is available within the assigned school or, at most, the school district. In some cases families discover what they want in other geographic areas and make the sacrifice of moving their residence to obtain it.

Under our national constitution, families with money cannot be forced into public schools. Thus, those selecting private schools— the well-to-do and those with private subsidies (e.g., parochial school families)—determine more of the basic character of their own children's education.

Professional and commercial organizations affect the individual child by inducing government to employ their members to do things to children that are said to be good for them or society. Thus, construction companies persuade legislatures to require schools to be rebuilt for the purpose of protecting children from earthquakes. Teachers' unions obtain laws which limit class size to thirty, and other laws which exclude teachers who lack particular academic credentials.

The "rest of us" vote on taxes and occasionally are aroused by the alarums of special interst groups. The politics of education, however, are dominated by the professionals. This is largely because the class of persons which is the target of education— children— is not capable of representing itself politically. Nor can parents represent children for two reasons.

First, individual children's needs and interests are very different from one another. Second, even among those with similar interests it is unlikely that individual families will spend precious time and funds for lobbying. Political scientists and economists call this the "free rider" problem (Olson 1965; Buchanan and Tullock 1962). If others lobby, one does not need to; if others don't, one's own contribution is inconsequential. Under the law, parents cannot coerce the participation of others. Hence, they find private uses for their extra money, and the political process is dominated by those organized interests who wish to sell services and in whose interest it is that children remain in need of such services.

Imagine now that this pattern of power over the individual child were altered by providing for each child a full state scholarship plus admission and transport to the school of the family's choice— public or private. There would be several broad effects. School assignments would cease to be orders issued to abstract classes of persons of certain ages and location. They would become personalized decisions about Freddie and Julia, tailored choices that now could be made by the family without having to change its residence.

The power of local authorities to command an audience would terminate; they would, however, retain their right to advise families, to run schools, and to teach those who chose their services. The roles of state government, professional lobbyists, and the general populace would now be limited to the setting and enforcing of guarantees that all schools provide a certain minimum experience or that children achieve a minimum level of competence.

How would a system so dependent upon the family for making assignments and setting minimum standards compare to the present regime in its likely impact upon the interest of the child and of society? By family here we shall mean any adult-child relation, genetic or otherwise, which is expected to be permanent, continous, and intimate at least until the child reaches adulthood.

Choice And The Best Interest Of The Child

Given the child's interest as our primary concern, and given great differences in the needs and interest of children, we will further assume in this section that the function of society is to choose and empower someone who will make school assignments for the individual child. We suggest three qualities in the ideal chooser. First, he would incorporate the child's own voice in the process; he would thus stand as proxy for the child's own perception of his needs and interests. Second, the ideal chooser would care for the child in the special sense that the child's interest came ahead of his own. Third, the chooser's welfare would be linked as closely as possible to that of the child; he would be responsible for unwise choices in the full sense that they affect the chooser himself adversely. These qualities of voice, caring and responsibility can be summarized as effective knowledge. How shall we grade the family on this basic standard?

Voice can count within the family in two interrelated ways. First the child may achieve his own choice. The family normally is a regime flexible enough to give his growing competence increasing scope while yet providing basic protection; the federally sponsored "voucher" experiment in Alum Rock has shown how often the child himself effectively makes the school selection. Second, the family environment encourages the confidentiality and privacy that can be crucial to a child's willingness to reveal his feelings. Moreover, since the parent-child unit is small, enduring, and repetitious, the child's opinions are communicated through nonverbal behavior; the intimacy of the family fosters an effective private language.

Caring is the family function par excellence both in myth and reality; and the reality is importantly enhanced by modern contraceptive culture (Coons 1976b). Adults now must choose to have children, and they must do so in spite of the economic and personal penalty exacted of parents in modern life. Such self-imposed burdens seem to us a convincing measure of devotion.

Responsibility is a primary characteristic of the family, because its happiness is a function of the child's own. The relation imposes the pains of the child vicariously and even directly upon the group, and it will continue to do so throughout life. It is in the objective self-interest of the adults in the family to help the child achieve satisfaction and autonomy.

The sum of the family's qualities is a substantial effective knowledge. It is fallible and varies by families; given broader authority, some families would make grievous errors in educational placement, as perhaps occurs now among private-school families. Would those now bound to attend public schools— the non-rich— be less competent? If so, in what degree? The question seems unanswerable without experiment, since these families hitherto have lacked choice. In any case they might grow through the new experience of responsibility. Most people do.

How does the present regime in public education compare for effective knowledge of the individual child? First, the basic system of matching the child to his school experience— neighborhood assignment— is almost wholly abstract; school selection for the child is made by government in total ignorance of the child's wishes or special qualities (unless he is so incapacitated as to be outside the regular system). At the school level, students and teachers are generally assigned to one another in an impersonal process. Individualization that occasionally does occur in teacher-student pairing is necessarily limited— there are only so many third-grade or geometry teachers— and below high school, the child's voice is rarely involved.

Once the child is assigned to a classroom he may achieve some voice. The teacher's ability to hear him is a function of the hours they spend together, the number of students in the class, the child's aggressiveness, and the character of his classmates.

When heard, the child's desires can receive but limited accommodation. And in reality no child can expect to be heard very clearly unless he is willing to become a deviant, in which case a counselor may spend several hours with him. Were each child to receive substantial time from a psychiatrist, the advantage would be plausible; but experience and social science confirm how little the professional counselor is able to learn and to achieve in the average case beyond relabeling the child. In any event the counselor has few alternative environments to which the child may be sent.

As for caring, most teachers surely do, but their caring by its nature must remain relatively cool and abstract. The teacher who becomes very deeply involved with even one child is likely to be regarded more as neurotic than professional. To the extent that he does so, he is plainly substituting for the parent. It is not a model role for a system of education. This is not a criticism, nor would the degree of affective care by teachers increase under a system of choice. The point is that under the present system, for the child of the non-rich family, there is no caring adult who is able to exercise authority over assignment. In our view it is a proper function of the state to provide a competent professional backstop for the occasional child whose parents do not care; but it is not proper to screen out and frustrate the natural care of most parents.

How fares the present system as a focus of responsibility for the individual child's welfare? We cannot here detail the reward system for public educational agents, but two points are plain. First, the systems for purging the classroom of incompetents is of little consequence; virtually no tenured teachers are seriously threatened so long as they show up for work and keep their hands off the children. Second, under the present structure the teacher has no strong natural link of self-interest with the child. He may regret the academic or personal failure of Freddie, but he neither must live with nor even encounter him after June. Freddie is a crisis to be passed, not a cross to be borne— just another forgettable kid. And that is as it should be. Teaching is not parenthood and should not be held accountable in the same manner. It should be responsible only for the reasonable performance of a narrower role. Yet even this will elude us until society supports the child's capacity to transfer to another educator.

It has been convenient to this point to inquire simply whether bureaucracy or the family is by itself the superior decision-maker. Now we should see that this mistakes the real question, for it suggests too broad a conflict of parents and professionals. In a system emphasizing family choice, the fact is that professionals would be likely to play an important role. They have valuable information not available to many parents, and families would come to them for advice. If anything, this should make the professionals' involvement in assignments even more active; since families could reject their advice, professionals would have to depend upon persuasion. The relation would become that of lawyer to client or architect to owner. For the first time, public school teaching might become a true profession because its clientele at last was free. That very freedom could well improve the market for professional service. Once the system of expert advice became accountable, families could begin to trust it. It would now be strongly to the family's interest to learn how best to use the available experts— and to use them.

Note that by having the final word the empowered family need no longer fear professional oversight or nonfeasance. Today no one plays this role of backstop, and society knows the consequence both from sad experience and social science. The child, once labeled and assigned by bureaucracy is rarely reassigned, however much he needs it. What family choice would give him is an amateur champion— a change agent— to ensure that he is not forgotten by the system. A family which found the professional unresponsive to inquiry could transfer the unhappy child themselves. Such an incentive could in turn have a vitalizing effect on the expert; choice could bring the teaching profession the dignity that has so long eluded it.

Getting The Question Straight

Some would argue that we miss the point. We have compared the efficacy of two regimes for achieving the child's interest as if that interest were currently undefined. Some would argue, however, that it has already been defined by consensus.

Our school officials are simply carrying out what the public has agreed is good for children; and the public has decided that non-rich children are best off under the present system. This criticism holds good for a certain minimum content of education. However, it fails as a general proposition, for above this narrow minimum the child's interest is a private affair, whether we like it or not.

To have a "public" meaning about the best interest of the individual child there must be a consensus supporting a defined substantive objective embodying the good for children; the consensus should also encompass a specific means to achieve the objective; and there should be a reasonable basis for believing that the means will indeed achieve those ends. At present there are elements of the child's interest (not restricted to education) which are in this sense "public." A consensus, for example, supports positive levels of nutrition and educational curriculum; and that consensus finds negative expression in proscriptions such as curfews and prohibitions upon dangerous labor. In short, there is social agreement concerning a reasonable specific minimum substantive good for children.

However, as in other aspects of this life, the typical child's formal education includes far more than the minimum. Beyond the minimum, it is individuals and subgroups—not the public—whose values and means express the child's welfare. There is no public consensus that the child should become aggressive, a Muslim, a patriot, or a pacifist; these are as much in discensus as the decision to teach phonics and employ ability grouping. In this immense area beyond consensus, the reality is that government as such has no views (Wolff 1968; Unger 1975; Stewart 1975, p. 1667). The question for government in these circumstances is not the child's interest at all, but rather whom it will authorize to define that interest in his own private terms. Within this domain of dissensus, the state may choose to enforce the decisions of welfare workers, parents, teachers or family court judges, but in every case these are private judgments that it sanctions. This is in itself no criticism; someone will decide for children and, where it lacks consensus, the most democratic government has no option but to legitimize some micro-sovereignty, allowing it to set the values and means for children. This is, of course, what it has done for education; the school bureaucracy stands, to this extent, not as an implementer of what Americans agree is best, but as sovereign over the interest of the non-rich.

But what is the rationale for society's imposing upon a child it doesn't know the special views of a particular school board, principal, or teacher? Society does not do this to private school users; in justice and common sense, how can it do it to the rest? We know of no principle favoring subordination of low-income children to the peculiar preference of strangers, at least where the family's own choice remains whithin the range of values and practices legitimate for others. Fair respect for equality of treatment thus reinforces the conclusion of the prior section that beyond the minimum the family is the appropriate sovereign.

There is a final consideration. This is the new humility beginning to pervade the social science of children's welfare. It has in our time become apparent that in many areas the professions know very little of how to intervene successfully in children's lives (Mnookin 1975, p.226; Coons 197a). Under conditions of professional discensus, giving families a broad discretion in education seems little more than common sense.

Choice And Social Goals

How would regulated family choice advance the social goals of community and racial integration? These questions are considered by others in this volume, and we will strip our own argument to its essentials.

Community

The social ideal expressed in the concept of community is subtle and somewhat paradoxical. On the one hand it suggests unity and, on the other, variety. This Delphic quality informs the fundamental political dogma— "one out of many." Does it imply that we are many struggling to overcome our differences; or is it, rather, our very differences that make us one? Is human variety a source of order or disorder?

While differences can be risky, we stand with variety as a principle of social strength. As with the genetic order, the least differentiated of human societies may be most vulnerable to environmental change. Variety, to us, is also a social good in itself. It is a source of esthetic fulfillment and intellectual growth. So long as variety remains intact in the distinct cultures and ideologies of our people, it offers to every individual a choice of paths to personal fulfillment. It does so, that is, so long as the law of the society guarantees freedom from discrimination and protects the choice of persons to adopt the life-style they prefer.

When this condition of free choice is fulfilled, variety can also yield peace and cooperation among groups, bedrock social purposes which we share. Nothing conduces more to support of the larger order than for minorities to perceive that their ways are trusted and even valued. Conversely, nothing so fragments a society as a decision by the majority that minority values deserve nothing better than melting.

A society which trusts its minorities should implement their educational preferences, and family choice is the ideal mechanism for this, since it permits individuals to form educational communities of choice. It is far superior to the direct funding of existing schools, a device which encourages suppliers to fix and limit the forms and ideologies represented in the marketplace of ideas.

A pluralistic strategy in education would respond precisely to the most fundamental change in the nature and function of communication since the advent of the melting pot. In a nation of widely scattered farmers and greenhorn immigrants it was at least plausible that coerced aggregation of the unwashed in a common school was a way of instilling the news that we are one people with inseparable destinies. In an age of mass communication the best news that could be leaked to the people is that we are not all slavish consumers of identical products and ideas. Schools of choice could provide this priceless function by giving life to minority ideals, ideas, and culture.

Even the angriest of ideologies can in the long run make its contribution to community. The child who is exposed to one-sided politics and religion at least has no doubt that there is a morality among humans and that morality is important. To see this is to take the first mental step toward brotherhood, a step that must be left unattempted in the neutralist morality of public institutions. Choice would, at its worst, spare us that most grievous sin against community— indifference. It might in the bargain give to minority children that sense of personal distinctness— of "identity"— that seems to underlie the psychology of tolerance. It is those who recognize themselves who are most ready to recognize others.

Racial Integration

If everyone were free to choose his school, what would be the consequences for racial mixing? The question will never be fully answerable. Absolute freedom to choose plainly is impossible to achieve, not only because of finite resources but because of conflicts in preferences; X cannot be free to associate with Y if Y is also to be free to refuse the association. We can, however, approach full freedom for the consumer of education by giving him his choice of school and the right to transfer if later he prefers another. To achieve this much we must in various ways limit the school's (and other patrons') freedom to exclude or discriminate against him. We are content to do so both because we are interested in the child as such (the school is instrumental) and because a rule of associational inclusion can offset the disadvantage of minorities. In a later section we will suggest details of such assignment and protection systems. For the moment we ask the reader to assume success in designing a mechanism that renders the selection process as racially neutral as the ingenuity of man can achieve.

Choice has shown a significantly greater capacity to integrate schools than does a neighborhood system of assignment. It has been tried with varying degrees of sincerity and gusto in a fair number of American cities, several of which we know firsthand. Even many of the narrow and half-hearted programs have produced some increase in physical integration. For the most part, it is Blacks who have chosen to attend majority White schools; but in some instances— for example, in Evanston, Illinois, and Redwood City, California— the traffic was heavy in both directions (McAdams 1974, p.69).

To the extent that integration is voluntary it has several useful qualities. One, its stability is almost a matter of definition; people getting what they want by personal selection tend to stay. In addition, voluntary integration tends to become infectious. It begins with an adventurous few, but others follow.

Still another advantage is the capacity of choice to forestall the residential emigration of White families who accept integration but prefer to avoid heavy black majorities.

Chosen integration would be incomplete integration. Very likely many families would choose to remain in uniracial-principally Black schools. Yet, if this choice were truly voluntary we could not consider the outcome to be evil. There is nothing inferior or objectionable in a uniracial school; it would be Olympian arrogance to imagine that Black schools could offer nothing in culture or ambience worth choosing.

It would also be political naivete to suppose that society has a more promising option for integration. Those who would escalate compulsion as the hope of physical integration should study both the relevant social science (Orfield 1976; Wolff 1976; Armor 1972, p. 90; Pettigrew, Unseem, and Normand 1973; Farley 1975, p. 164) and the recent opinions of the Supreme Court (also Fiss 1975, p. 217; Bell 1975, p. 34). There is little prospect that the court will order the state to bus the suburban White student back to the city. Indeed, if it did so the exodus to private education could vaporize the very support for education upon which the urban poor must depend.

What hope is there then in a system of choice? A great deal, and now is the time. There is presently a marked surplus of places in suburban public schools which are principally White. There is space in private schools, urban and suburban, and more space and schools would appear if scholarships and transport were available. Perhaps children should be limited to transfers which have an integrating effect, but they should be given the full range of such schools in the metro area to choose from.

Mechanism

The administrative and fiscal devices needed for a system of choice can be conveniently considered in their relation to complementary purposes. First, a family's wealth should not affect its capacity to choose whatever is available within a system supported by public funds. Second, barriers to choice should be minimized; these include discrimination against certain types of children by educational suppliers, lack of information among poor families, difficulty in market entry for new schools, and similar impediments. Third, minimums of educational input and/or achievement must be established and supported by alternative forms of administrative control. Obviously the potential forms of intervention for these three general purposes are protean, and we must be content to give but a sense of the richness of fiscal and administrative options (Coons and Sugarman 1971).

Removing Wealth Barriers

Begin with the simplest forms of subsidy in which the family is not permitted to affect the amount. Suppose that each child is supplied a scholarship that is uniform in amount, except perhaps for adjustments representing higher costs of land, goods, and services in certain areas. Then simply add to this a proscription forbidding the charging of tuition beyond the scholarship amount; otherwise wealthier families will add on and income classes will separate themselves into schools of graduated cost; this is intolerable in a publicly financed system (Friedman 1962, pp. 85-107).

A variation of this model would graduate the value of educational grants according to the wealth of the family (Sizer and Whitten 1968, p. 58; Public Policy 1970). Thus schools enrolling large numbers of poor children would have more to spend. There is a certain logic in this if the poor tend to be more costly to educate. It is not easy, however, to focus the actual expenditure of the extra dollars upon the disadvantaged child unless he first be segregated, a practice which seems generally undesirable. The extra dollars could, of course, be directed to after-school opportunities for the child such as private lessons in either academic studies, crafts or other interest. The latter device is coming to be known as "school stamps" (Sugarman 1974, pp. 513, 546). It could go far toward closing the inevitable gap in the capacities of rich and poor families to provide extra-school opportunities.

If choice in the level of spending is desirable (as we believe), a system of "family power equalizing" may be adopted (Coons and Sugarman 1971). Here each school would charge what it pleased, but the family and the state would share the cost of the tuition. The family's portion of that tuition would increase with its income; a poor family would pay a very small percentage, the rich would pay full cost. The approachable ideal would be a payment formula by which a poor family realistically could "afford" as costly a school as a richer one. Thus family power equalizing lets the non-rich family especially interested in education spend at a higher rate if it is willing to make the extra sacrifice required.

There are other possibilities for financing. Open enrollment in the public system could be supplemented by subsidized private schools started by families. Families could be given credits on federal income tax, with poorer families who pay little or no tax receiving a positive grant for education. The current tax treatment of day-care expenditures is moving in that very direction: the combinations are endless.

Assuring Choice

Enrollment problems are substantial. Here let us start with the assumption that each participating public and private school will determine how many students to enroll, but will not control who is enrolled. For schools with applications equal to or fewer than its enrollment capacity, all would be admitted. For schools in which applications exceed spaces, some random selection method would be employed. A state agency could run the lotteries for admission.

There is a hard policy decision that must precede such a mechanism. Schools wishing to specialize in various ways— ecology, college prep, the art, dance— seem highly desirable; yet, to the extent their students lack the relevant talent, they are affected in their capacity to specialize. For this reason, some supporters of family choice would permit schools to select at least a cadre of their enrollees. Others think it enough that the school can counsel the family against enrolling an untalented child.

It is also necessary to decide whether the selection rule ought to be tilted toward racial integration in order to offset the inertia of history, housing patterns, distance, and habit. It would be our own preference to do so, and we would suggest the wisdom of regulation of the following sort:

> In cases in which a school has more applicants than places, the (state oficial)... shall first select at random from each racial group which constitutes a minority of the school's applicants a number of students not to exceed fifteen per cent of available places. All applicants not selected in this process shall then be pooled and the remaining places filled by random selection from that pool.

Many variations on this rule can be imagined. It would also be possible to give dollar rewards to schools which successfully integrate. This would stimulate the school to recruit in a manner which produces an integrated pool of applications.

This suggests the importance of an information system which is designed not for the literate and sophisticated but for those who may be used to getting their information by the grapevine. Families must know what kinds of schools exist, and schools that are presently popular may not be motivated to advertise in all neighborhoods. Direct counseling services will be necessary, as well as a right to visit participating schools under certain conditions. It will also be important that the family have access to independent professional counsel concerning the needs and talents of their children. A yearly stipend for this purpose would be ideal both in terms of assisting family choice and in building an independent counseling profession.

Having chosen and been admitted to his first, second, or third choice, how will the child get there? Plainly a system of no-cost transport would be vital. And having arrived, there must be assurance that the school which may not have been eager to have him does not de-select him by discriminatory treatment. In short, we would need a system of due process of the sort already abuilding in the public schools. For the child who is incorrigible or manifestly incapable of benefitting from the school of his choice, a fair system of separation would be necessary. The hope is that it would limit the school's power to behave arbitrarily without destroying efficiency.

To make certain there are new schools to choose from, the state may wish to assist entry by guaranteed building loans and similar devices. Entry costs in the educational business can be kept very low, but it would be well to offset some of the advantages of the public and private institutions already in place. It is also fundamental that public schools— like the rest— be left dependent upon their capacity to attract students. Probably most families would continue in public schools. However, it would be self-defeating for the state to pour in extra money to shore up a school no one wants. A process of dissolution equivalent to bankruptcy should phase out unsuccessful public schools; at the same time, new public entries could be possible, but should be governed by estimates of their ability to survive. This orderly closing of public schools that families shun, and opening of those they prefer, would magnify the importance of even marginal change; if nothing else, existing schools could read the signs and reform.

Public school fatalities suggest the problem of teacher security. If each school rests on its own bottom, the present district and state seniority, transfer, and security systems for public teachers will be replaced in part at least by contracts with individual schools. There are various ways to protect existing staff by "grandfather" provisions without leaving the schools crippled. Teachers may be willing to exchange some of their present perquisites for the prospect of an open and exciting system in which energy and creativity enjoyed some elbowroom. There are risks for teachers, but there are invitations to professionalism that will appeal to many.

Assuring the Minimum

The minimum in education— the public consensus respecting values and means— is today expressed in terms of "input:" that is, there are objective experiences required for students. These typically include total hours and days of instruction, coverage of particular subjects, a teacher who has received a degree in education, and instruction in a building of a certain sort. In some states a child may be taught in his own home, but often this is only if the teacher is certified (Sugarman and Kirp 1975, pp. 144, 200, 208-10).

A choice system could include a minimum and might include many of the same input rules. Their observance could be required of any participating institution. We would hope that the teacher certification requirement which has seldom been applied to private schools would be dropped altogether. And a relaxation of parts of the building codes which principally benefit the construction companies would be sensible; likewise we conclude that instruction should be permitted in all sorts of basically safe environments, including private homes. But education in the agreed basics for, say, 175 days a year could well remain compulsory. So long as flexible schedules and environments were accommodated, the bulk of present requirements could survive in a choice system. That is not to say that it should.

One broad alternative is to move toward output minimums—that is, to standards based upon the actual development of the individual child. One model is the neglect laws by which children are removed from families; if the child falls below a certain standard of educational achievement the family would lose its authority to direct his placement in formal education. There are several variations on the input/output theme. The state could view input as sufficient; families would retain choice so long as they met an input minimum, regardless of output. Another would view input merely as necessary; families would lose choice unless the child met both the input and the achievement standard. Still another variation would disregard the character of the educational experience so long as the output were sufficient.

What devices would be used to establish output criteria? No doubt tests, interviews, and observation would be suggested. One difficult question is whether to establish a uniform minimum or to vary it according to some prediction of how the individual child "ought" to be doing given his natural gifts as measured by the professionals. Allowing families to offer their own objectives and programs for approval by an independent inspectorate seems an appealing part of any package.

Whatever form of output minimum were adopted we would expect systems of choice to increase the percentage of children who achieve it. Among today's population of habitual truants and dropouts alone there must be many who would today be in formal education had they not been driven from pursuit of the minimum by assignment to a school experience they could not accept. Given their choice of schools they might still have dropped out or failed, but if any at all were saved it would amount to a net gain.

Those who have not yet dropped out but are merely failing could also benefit. Once freed to seek another educational environment, at least some families of children now failing in compulsory assignments would look for a solution. Of course there is a risk that those now succeeding under coercion would be corrupted by choice. We would be willing to see that possibility tested.

Conclusion

Many assert that choice can never come, that the political impediments are structural and beyond redemption. This may be, but our present observation is that the old structure of educational finance and governance is quaking. The forces are not merely a popular discontent, though that is real. In some states, including California, there is an opening of the political process by constitutional fiat. The legislative renaissance provoked by Serrano v. Priest is the first since the imposition of public compulsion a century ago. It is impossible to predict its outcome, by there are signs that those who prefer choice, including minorities, will have a voice in the final solution. It could include substantial experiments with choice as a part of the Serrano package.

Some warn us that choice, if it does come, will cause disorder and cultural discontinuity— that it will bring too much change. Others fear the opposite: that essential change is beyond the power of social mechanisms and that choice would bring little more than marginal variations on the present themes. Pessimism, it seems, can make the most of anything. We have already answered the fear of social disruption. In concluding, we would answer the alternative fear of inadequate change by suggesting that marginal differences in observable behavior can count in a deep and powerful manner. A large measure of institutional continuity is exactly what one would expect; the race is not programmed for anarchy. Nevertheless freedom to select one's own way could have profound psychological significance, even if only the few employ it to alter their external experience in substantial respects. To choose what has previously been compelled is choosing nonetheles Perhaps the difference is only a matter of human dignity and our view of one another. To us that seems enough.

REACTION TO "THE INITIATIVE FOR FAMILY CHOICE..."

Reactions to Dr. Coons' presentation of the Initiative for Family Choice came from Jonathan Lewis and Dr. Julian Nava. Mr. Lewis spoke as the Executive Director of the California Tax Reform Association; Dr. Nava, Board Member, represented the Los Angeles School Board. In the absence of written statements from Mr. Edwards and Dr. Nava, we present the following summaries of their taped comments.

Jonathan Lewis
Executive Director
California Tax Reform Association

Mr. Lewis briefly described his Association as a Liberal organization dedicated to lobbying against tax-loopholes, disassociating himself from any vested interest in the public education establishment or in any of the jobs that go with it. Further, Mr. Lewis disavowed any intention of defending the public school system, expressing agreement with Dr. Coons' charges of inequity in the system. However, Mr. Lewis asserted, "the man who comes to tell you that your house is on fire is maybe not the best person to put the fire out."

The initiative for Family Choice proposed by Dr. Coons suffers from a fundamental flaw in Mr. Lewis view, in that it is based on the Market Theory: on a laissez faire model that does not work, has never worked. As a model for resolving issues of power, experience has shown that in fact the consumer is not powerful. Safeway stores' ability to disregard the national consumer boycott of table grapes demonstrated the lack of consumer power in the market place to control what the market will offer. The inability of the Market Theory to protect the real needs of consumers is illustrated in the current problems with gasoline supply and the safety issues raised by the DC-10 aircraft. The tendency of the market system toward monopoly is attested by the complexity of anti-trust laws. The Family Choice Initiative raises the image of a "Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer educational system;" perhaps more entertaining than the present public system, and perhaps children might be able to "convince their parents that that is the most wonderful thing, in the same way that I used to convince my parents that there were wonderful things that I needed because all the kids were doing it; it was a very educational experience—meaning that it did not work. But I am not sure that that is necessarily the best situation."

There is a claim that the Family Choice Initiative will open the doors to educational innovation. "The fact is that the laissez faire market place system, because it tends to be monopolistic, is not innovative and is not creative. The uto industry is the best example I can think of ..... they ave not been able to innovate and produce safe cars, have not een able to innovate good gasoline mileage, have not been able o innovate and reduce air pollution...."

Mr. Lewis advanced five principal points as arguments against the Family Choice Initiative:

The Initiative depends on the actions of informed parent consumers to provide quality education. If such informed action were a viable hope, there would be no problem now. Mechanisms already exist whereby informed and involved parents could control the present system. But, said Mr. Lewis, it is "not their natural instinct" to get involved. The consumer family cannot, in fact, be trusted to exercise educational responsibility.

The Initiative is a fundamental step away from collective, democratic decision making in our society. By placing the power to choose the nature of educational programming in the hands of the family, rather than in those of the body politic, Mr. Lewis perceived a threat. Though without children of his own, Mr. Lewis asserted a vested interest in children being well educated and would wish to protect his right to participate in the definition of "well educated." He said: "I do have some faith and commitment to the body politic; some notion that collective decision making is a good idea in our society. And the voucher system is a step toward privatized education. It's stepping away from the notion that we all ought to get together, as a society, in this room, and make some common steps toward civilization."

Supporters of the Family Choice Initiative claim that the market place will operate in the public interest. "That is obviously not true.... Any of you who do not believe me may care to go over to LAX, a few miles away, and fly home on the next DC-10." While commercialism and industry have their place in our society, they do not belong in education as we know it. As an actual example of a "voucher system" at work, Mr. Lewis described the nursing home industry. "Basically, you have people who have the consumer choice, who can choose among a multiplicity of nursing homes; they have a voucher called a MediCal chit, and what happens? We have a bunch of little warehouses all over the State where the elderly are forgotten. Their family is happy to shunt them off there for what amounts to elderly baby sitting. They are dying like flies and it is a disgrace in this State. I do not want to do to the young what we do with the old."

There is a danger of the market place succumbing to the "media hype." "I have a vision of Kentucky Fried Education." The counseling agencies provided for in the Family Choice Initiative cannot be expected to compete successfully with commercial advertising which may be enlisted to influence parent's choices.

It seems odd that as the prospect of minority group control of the public school system is significantly improving, there is a move to change the system. "Not unlike what was done in the Bay Area, I thought, on regional government. You know, there were lots of communities when minority folks were starting to gain control. All of a sudden you saw this big push for regional government, to create a new way of keeping the wraps on." While the motives of those advocating the Family Choice Initiative are no doubt what they describe them to be, the unfortunate effect, nevertheless, of the initiative would "have that unfortunate effect."

Mr. Lewis concluded by quoting Mark Twain: "To be good is noble. To teach others to be good is nobler — and a lot less trouble."

Dr. Julian Nava
Board Member
Los Angeles Unified School District

"I think that questions are better than answers, for now.... I would prefer to ask questions as we consider the proposal made by Dr. John Coons."

Should we accept the assumption that public schools have failed? Dr. Nava expressed no personal conviction of the success or failure of the public schools but pointed out, through a series of questions, that the system's failure may be more easily assumed than convincingly demonstrated. How are we to know if public schools have done a good job? "One way might be to compare; but with what school system, in which context outside the U.S., can the U.S. public school system be compared? Could we agree on a single set of standards against which our schools' performance might be measured?"

Are parents the best judges of what is best for their children? For himself, Dr. Nava answered this question: "I am not so sure at all." He raised several points to challenge the assertion that parents should have more opportunity for choice in the matter of their children's education.

First, he questioned the extent of parents' real willingness to involve themselves in decision making, pointing to their low level of participation in the electoral process. In the last

Los Angeles School Board election, only 20% of the qualified voters cast ballots. Those who did vote cannot have all been parents; "parents, then, did not overwhelmingly bother to vote."

Second, Dr. Nava maintained that our system of government clearly assumes that parents are not the best judges of their children's needs. Schools act in the place of parents, in _loco parentis_. "Society assumes that there are some interests for the State and for society that transcend the interest of particular families. How capable is the family, today, to function at all? And is the family of today under such great stress, if not progressive disappearance, capable of having this significant burden added to it?"

Dr. Nava suggested that the answers to certain questions about the nature of the world today and tomorrow may have direct implications for the recognition of desirable educational goals, at least "for those of us that see a little farther down the line or who look into things a little bit more carefully...."

Is not the world shrinking? Are we and our children not increasingly vulnerable to the effects of actions taken by people far from us, for example in Iran? If it is so, that the world is shrinking, ought not education to be more cosmopolitan and less provincial?; more public and socially oriented rather than personal or family oriented?

What is the world like? Is it not dirtier, more dangerous, so that our very existence may be at issue? Dr. Nava raised the case of U.S. food companies who buy unlabelled cans of tomatoes grown in Mexico, where "there are virtually no standards for pollution in the use of insecticides... that we know are carcinogenous." Those tomatoes are "being put into blank cans by Campbell, Heinz, Del Monte and other such firms for labelling, once the cans are imported across the border, are sold at our stores across the country."

"How do schools relate to all these global and international questions? Are parents capable of making choices regarding curricula that would affect such things? Is this not a more interdependent world, or can we go to it alone as a nation? It seems to me that these are some of the kinds of questions that we might want to ask ourselves as we evaluate whether public education is meeting the needs of our children.

"Lastly, would family choices make separatism or unification more likely?... It seems to me that it might very well be the case where racial, ethnic, religious and political groups might then have a wonderful opportunity to set up their own schools. Would this be more likely, or would it be less likely? Let me here offer some observations. I know some people already that like Dr. Coons' idea because then they could set up Chicano schools. I know other people who would say, 'We will have Catholic schools; we will have Apache schools (and the Apache have never have gotten along with the Cheyenes); we will have Cheyene schools; we will have Methodist schools; we will have existential schools. Would laws be capable of stopping that, if we give parents freedom of choice?

Would family choice tend to bring us together, or pull us apart? I do not know. You think about it yourselves as we consider the questions raised by the proposal made by Dr. Coons. Because this is probably one of the most significant proposals made in our country since the concept of public education was advanced in our society."